The Congregational Quarterly

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THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY is published on the 20th of March, June, September, and December, each quarter, by the Publication Department of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. It may be obtained from the publishers at 2s. 6d. a copy (plus postage), or 10s. per annum post free, or from any bookseller at 2s. 6d.

All contributions (typewritten where possible) should be addressed to the Editor at Shirley, Russell Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, with stamped envelope for return in case of non-acceptance.

Vol. VII, No. 4 **OCTOBER, 1929**

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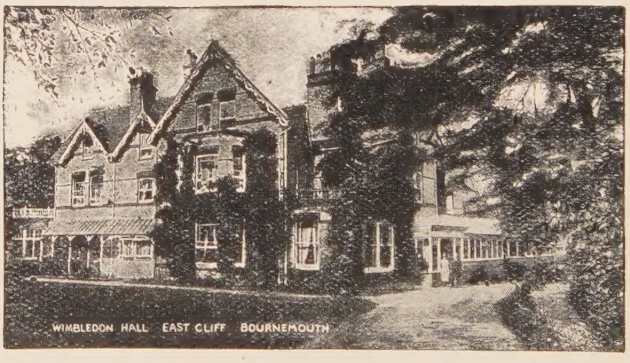

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The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL.

SINCE the publication of our last number *The Congregational Quarterly* has lost two of its best friends, friends so close that its editor feels that he can only speak about them adequately by using the first person.

There was at least one person who read every one of the 27 numbers of *The Congregational Quarterly* from cover to cover, advertisements and all, and his name was C. F. Garrood. It is hard to think that these and future pages must face public scrutiny without first passing under his quick and practised eye. If this journal has acquired a reputation for carefulness and accuracy the credit is due in large measure to Mr. Garrood, who detected many a misprint which had escaped others, plodding along bravely many times through theological articles that nobody could call light reading. For sixteen years he had served the Congregational Union as manager of its Publication Department, and his name had come to stand to the denomination for courteous efficiency and skilled and unselfish service. About the intricacies of the bookseller's trade he knew much, but his knowledge was far from being technical only. Few people knew more about hymns and hymnbooks than he did, and Congregationalism was indeed fortunate in having his learning at its disposal. He was a Christian layman of the best type, and he spent his life in the public service. From the firm with whom he was apprenticed down to those who were his subordinates in recent days striking tributes have poured in. No one in his public life will miss him more than the writer of these words, for for seven years our relationship has been of the closest kind. Garrood almost felt it as a slight upon himself that Congregationalism had no periodical literature, and when this journal was started in 1922 he threw himself into the work of preparation with great enthusiasm. Nothing, I think, in the recent history of his Department gave him more pleasure than the welcome our first numbers received, and quarter by quarter he joined in the fray with unfailing courage and hope ever-renewed. And so we pay a tribute to our friend, a gallant, courageous, courteous, Christian gentleman.

And Peake has gone! And what a friend to *The Congregational Quarterly* Peake was no one knows better than its editor. Even before Garrood knew the journal was projected, Peake had, in his ever-generous way, been lavish with advice and suggestion. I remember, some months before the suggestion of the *Quarterly* was first made to the Union Committees, meeting him in his room in the

University of Manchester to discuss the prospects. His eye twinkled as he said, " You know, I only discovered when you wrote that you were a minister. Somehow I'd got the idea that you were a wealthy layman interested in the history of Nonconformity ! ". That summer he was taking the services in the Wesleyan Chapel at Keswick, and I in the Congregational, and we turned inside out the possibilities of a denominational quarterly journal. Peake knew full well that the new periodical would, in some measure, be a competitor with the *Holborn Review,* which he edited with such distinction for so long, but that did not prevent him from giving a newcomer the benefit of his mature experience. And from the time our first number appeared he has been astonishingly kind and generous in appreciation. But that was Peake all over—no kinder, more unselfish man ever lived, and no one with more of the camaraderie of scholarship. With a truly Himalayan range of learning, and with marvellous powers of exposition, he had the simplicity and naïveté of a little child. We corresponded with some regularity, often rallying each other when an article rejected by one was accepted by the other, or when our judgments of books differed. On one occasion at least a contributor who needed money badly sent to him a general article that had appeared in our pages some time before. But there was no getting past Peake that way : he seemed to read everything and to remember everything he read : to his query whether he had not seen the article in *The Congregational Quarterly* the contributor never vouchsafed a reply ! Latterly we met in the main only at inter-denominational and international conferences, such as Copec and Lausanne. At Lausanne we both happened to be in the group to consider " The Nature of the Church," and I remember looking across at him and thinking : " And because no hands have been laid on your head some people would deny you the right to be a minister of the Word and Sacraments ! And you know more about the Word than any half-dozen of them together ! ". I am not sure that *The Bible, Its Origin, Its Significance, and Its Abiding Worth* is not his greatest book, though when there are so many worthy claimants it is difficult to decide between them. His " Century Bible " commentaries on *Job, Jeremiah,* and *Hebrews* are marvels of clarity and compression, while *Peake's Commentary* will render service for many a long year yet. I loved to get him talking about his work for that volume—about the eccentricities of some of its contributors, and the way in which even his patience was sometimes tried. When, sympathizing to the full with an editor's trials, I sent him a promised chapter to the *Outline of Christianity* on the day fixed, I received a typical communication in return, typical in that it came immediately, rejoiced in the receipt of the manuscript and referred to delinquents we both knew, and revealed that already the chapter had been read and points for discussion noted.

Many of the appreciations have said that Peake saved English Methodism from a Fundamentalist controversy—and rightly. We are glad that Primitive Methodism is conscious of its immense debt to this one man, and recognizes the sacrifices he made for it. I used to tell Peake both in public and in private that he was 90 *per cent* a Congregationalist, but his heart was with his own folk—though of course they have in many ways much more in common with Congregationalism than with Wesleyan Methodism.

I have known no man I have respected more than A. S. Peake. He has been to me counsellor and friend, and I have learnt from him more than I can say. I know I can never emulate his learning, but I would humbly try to find the secret of the simplicity and sacrifice that marked his life.

The way of the editor of a denominational journal is hard. It has abundant worries and disappointments. But there are compensations, and not least of them the fact that it brings a man into contact with finer spirits like C. F. Garrood and A. S. Peake.

* * *

Canon Streeter is to the Church of England in some degree what Peake has been to the Free Churches. He has, however, a *flair* for historical and theological speculation all his own: Peake certainly would never have attempted some of his flights. There has been, however, no more enlightening scholar in our generation, whether we think of his work in *New Testament* scholarship or of a book like *Reality*. We shall have further occasion to discuss Canon Streeter's latest book, *The Primitive Church* (Macmillan, 8s. 6d.), but we must here just commend it to our readers. They will find that the old idea of a clear Apostolic period, succeeded by two or three obscure generations from which an episcopally-governed Church emerges, must now be abandoned: the Apostolic age is by no means so clear as has been imagined, nor is the sub-apostolic so dark and confused. Dr. Streeter discovers that the early Christian Church is "an organism alive and growing," and therefore "changing its organization to meet changing needs." In one place, therefore, that organization is Episcopal, in another Presbyterian, and in another Independent; in Dr. Streeter's words, there is "primitive diversity in Christian institutions." Into the further ranges of this study of the origins of the Christian ministry, with its many diverting speculations, we do not venture now, but it would be well that all those working on what is called "Christian reunion" should master this volume. It will not be without its bearing on the *Proposed Scheme of Union* prepared by the Joint Committee of the Churches of South India, now published by the Christian Literature Society for South India (2s.). About that scheme we shall have some observations to make next quarter.

* * *

SOME of the most encouraging words we have seen for some time are those on the wrapper of the English edition of Mr. Walter Lippmann's *A Preface to Morals* (Allen & Unwin, 10s.); they are: "80,000 copies sold in the U.S.A." We hope that 80,000 people in the British Isles will read the book, for it is one of the most thorough studies of modern life and thought we have met. The author is editor of the American *Public Opinion*, and once or twice there are quips that suggest the journalist, but on the whole the book goes to the roots of life, showing how the "acids of modernity" have eaten away the old standards, conventions, and beliefs, and investigating what form of high religion can meet the need of disillusioned mankind.

Every preacher ought to face the situation set forth in this book, a situation which does not seem to be realized at all by many who preach to crowded or sparse congregations from which young people under thirty are altogether missing. Mr. Lippmann is right in holding that "the irreligion of the modern world is radical to a degree for which there is no counterpart," and that the young are rebelling without faith in their rebellion, for they distrust both the new freedom and the old certainties. People are not going to church, he says, because they are not certain they are going to meet God there; it is difficult, that is to say, for the modern man to conceive a God whom he can worship.

Having shown how the "acids of modernity" have destroyed the ancestral order, Mr. Lippmann goes on to argue that to-day there exists on an unparalleled scale the urgent need for a high religion which regenerates. He is not entirely satisfactory in outlining what form this religion must take, but he has words of supreme value to say in discussing how it will affect business, government, and love. We select two sentences to illustrate the matter and style of these chapters:—

> The early doctrine of *laissez-faire* was utopian because it assumed that unregenerated men were destined somehow to muddle their way to a harmonious result. The earlier socialism was utopian because it assumed that these same unregenerate men, once the laws of property had been altered, would somehow muddle their way to a harmonious result. Both ignored the chief lesson of human experience, which is the insight of high religion, that unregenerate men can only muddle into muddle.
>
> . . . whether or not birth control is eugenic, hygienic, and economic, it is the most revolutionary practice in the history of sexual morals.

The book is far too big for a paragraph. It should be read, digested, and discussed by everybody.

* * *

It was once suggested that the history of religion in England would have been altogether different had Newman been able to read German. Mr. Aldous Huxley, in an entertaining article in the July

Yale Review, suggests that Wordsworth's poems would have been altogether different had he left the Lakes and dwelt for some time in the Tropics. Wordsworth cried, " Let Nature be your teacher," but the Nature he knew was the tamed and tempered Nature of Europe. In Mr. Huxley's words:—

> Wandering in the hothouse darkness of the jungle, Wordsworth would not have felt so serenely certain of those " Presences of Nature," those " Souls of Lonely Places " which he was in the habit of worshipping on the shores of Windermere and Rydal. The sparse inhabitants of the equatorial forests are all believers in devils. When one has visited, even in the most superficial manner, the places where they live, it is difficult not to share their faith. The jungle is marvellous, fantastic, beautiful; but it is also terrifying, it is also profoundly sinister.

Mr. Huxley finds a change in Wordsworth's attitude to Nature " symptomatic of his general apostacy ":—

> Beginning as what I may call a natural æsthete, he transformed himself, in the course of years, into a moralist, a thinker. . . . He preferred, in the interests of a preconceived religious theory, to ignore the disquieting strangeness of things, to interpret the impersonal diversity of Nature in terms of a divine, Anglican unity.

In developing his thesis Mr. Huxley emphasizes an aspect of Nature many of us are all too prone to forget. We roam on heather-covered hills and take photographs of quiet tarns nestling among the mountains; we sit by the shingly shore and gaze over the moonlit waves; we turn the pages of Arnold or Wordsworth: and we forget the cruel challenge of inexorable Everest, the terror of the jungle, the raging torrent, or the hurricane on the ocean. We should do well to balance our sentimentality about Nature, our rhapsodies about the beauty of the earth, by pondering such words as these of Mr. Huxley's:—

> But in any case it is not loneliness that oppresses the equatorial traveller; it is too much company; it is the uneasy feeling that he is an alien in the midst of an innumerable throng of hostile beings. To us who live beneath a temperate sky and in the age of Henry Ford, the worship of Nature comes almost naturally. It is easy to love a feeble and already conquered enemy. But an enemy with whom one is still at war, an unconquered, unconquerable, ceaselessly active enemy—no; one does not, one should not love him. One respects him, perhaps; one has a salutary fear of him; and one goes on fighting. . . . For us, the notion " river " implies (how obviously!) the notion " bridge." When we think of a plain, we think of agriculture, towns, and good roads. The corollary of mountain is tunnel; of swamp, an embankment; of distance, a railway. At latitude zero, however, the obvious is not the same as with us. Rivers imply wading, swimming, alligators. Plains mean swamps, forests, fevers. Mountains are either dangerous or impassable. To travel is to hack one's way laboriously through a tangled, prickly, and venomous darkness. " God made the country," said Cowper. In New Guinea he would have had his doubts; he would have longed for the man-made town.

* * *

Our last notes were written when the General Election results were not quite complete. Labour has made good use of the three months that have since elapsed, and there seems no reason why the Government should not have a long spell in office. The Prime Minister has a good crew, and the ministry is eminently a Radical one: the fact that it has not an independent majority will accentuate the natural leaning of all Governments to the right, and Radicals therefore do well to be highly satisfied at the turn of events. Already the confidence we expressed in Labour's management of international affairs has received a measure of justification. If only the Labour Party can learn Parliamentary horse-sense and Mr. MacDonald curb his egotism, the country should be able to settle down to a period of quiet progress. It is, we are inclined to suspect, from Syria and from India that the Government's chief difficulties will come. Meanwhile let them get ahead with naval disarmament. And if they are as open and frank as Mr. Snowden has been at The Hague, so much the better: it will all help to remove the possibility of the peoples of the world being again plunged into war by their Governments. Herr Emil Ludwig's conclusions about the origins of the war as set forth in *July 14* deserve the widest circulation. He believes that

> the whole of Europe is responsible for the War; that is the result of research in all countries. The sole guilt of Germany, or Germany's innocence, are equally fairy tales for children on this and the other side of the Rhine. What country willed the War? Let us put the question differently. What are the circles in all countries who willed, facilitated, or began the War? If, instead of a horizontal, one makes a vertical section through the classes, then one sees the whole responsibility lay with the Cabinets, the whole innocence in the streets.

THE FREE CHURCHES AND UNITY.

I HAVE been asked as a Free Churchman to speak[1] on "The Free Church Programme of Reunion." It is not a title of my choice. The word *programme* has a political tinge these days, and is more suggestive of man-made schemes than of spiritual adventure. I have not refused it because it is intended, I believe, to suggest a challenge which I do not wish to evade. We have been loud in our professions of a desire for unity. We have deplored our unhappy divisions. The replies of the Free Churches to the Lambeth proposals were full of sympathy and appreciation; yet there was an element of caution, almost of suspicion, from the first, hardening into a more critical tone, and in the end a conclusion almost negative. Our friends are inclined to say, not without a touch of impatience: "Well, we've done our best; now it's your turn. You say you believe in unity, what exactly do you mean by it, what kind of unity do you want, what is your programme, and what sacrifice are you prepared to make?"

May I begin by saying that we do believe in the unity of the whole fellowship of believers? The unity of the body of Christ is to us not something that once existed and has been broken into fragments; nor is it something to which we hope to attain in the distant future; it is a fact, here and now, a spiritual reality. All over the world, among all nations and races, of many tongues and many colours, there are millions of men and women who have seen the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Men differ in manifest ways, in their interests, their pursuits, their gifts, their temperaments; they form themselves accordingly into all kinds of groups and associations, political, racial, and cultural; but there is something that divides the entire human race, transcending all other differences of race and culture. There are those who have been "delivered out of the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of the Son of His love," and those upon whom the light has not yet shined. On the surface believers may be conscious of interests which bind them more closely to unbelievers than to those who are also "in Christ Jesus," but against the background of eternity all distinctions vanish beside that which unites all who call Jesus Lord.

We look out upon the world to-day and we find that all mankind is seeking the ultimate principle of unity. It seems to be a law of history that after every great crisis in human affairs some new idea is born into the consciousness of mankind, and dominates every region of thought for a generation. To-day the idea of unity is in possession. We see it everywhere—in science, in politics, in economics, in

1 An Address given at All Hallows, Lombard St., London.

philosophy; unity between classes, nations, and races; in every field of human thought and endeavour we find this search for unity.

We are deeply convinced that the ultimate principle of unity is to be found in Christianity and there alone. Unfortunately Christianity itself in its institutional form has sometimes been responsible for irrational antinomies, and we must be on our guard lest for the sake of institutional unity we sacrifice the freedom with which Christ has made us free from all antinomies. But if man is ever to be at one with himself, and with his fellow-man, it can only be as he is made one with God in Jesus Christ.

Here then is the position as we see it: the whole world seeking for unity; and the secret of unity is that life which is hidden with Christ in God. How can we manifest it to the world? The Church exists to bear witness to Jesus Christ. The task of the Church is not to Christianize the world, not even to draw men to Christ; only Christ Himself can do that, and He will, if only we can make men see Him as He is. To bear witness to Christ, to lift Him up, that He may lift all men unto Him, that is the supreme purpose of the Christian Church.

The reason why we deplore our present divisions is that they obscure that witness. A divided Church cannot bear witness to the unity that is in Christ Jesus. That unity exists; it is a spiritual reality. You cannot make it, you cannot destroy it, but it can be obscured. It is not made manifest. Our purpose is to manifest it to the world.

This is an important distinction, between trying more fully to realize among ourselves and to manifest to the world our unity in Christ, and trying to reconstruct a unity which has been destroyed. It seems to us that the idea underlying the movement towards unity represented by the Anglican proposals is something like this: Jesus Christ founded an Institution which from very early times, at least, had three distinguishing marks—the Episcopacy, the Apostles' Creed, and the Two Sacraments. That Institution still exists to-day. It cannot fail, for Christ promised that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it—but it exists in a divided state, to the distress of Christians and the scandal of the world. There are three main divisions of it, the Roman Church, the Eastern Church, and the Anglican Church. But side by side with that Institution there exist all kinds of loosely-defined Christian societies, calling themselves churches. The object of the movement towards unity is to reconstruct the unity of that Institution, and somehow or other to get all these Christian societies into it. We have been drawn into this discussion, and the debate has gone on with interminable tossings up and down of words from Episcopacy to Creed, from Creed to Sacraments, from Sacraments to Episcopacy, but always with the same

purpose in view, to gather all this multitudinous Christianity into the Institution. Now, speaking quite frankly for the Free Churches, I am bound to report that there is a deepening conviction that this whole method of approach is wrong, that we, at least, do not share it. We do not believe in that Institution. We do not believe that Christ founded it. We believe, on the contrary, that at one period of history what Christ did create was nearly destroyed by the attempt to confine it within the Institution. But it could not be destroyed. It burst the bonds of institutionalism. We are often told that even if it be granted that those who broke away from the Institution took with them real spiritual values, yet they did so at the cost of unity. To which we answer: "No, they took with them that which constitutes our unity, their experience of Christ's redeeming love. That which divides a man from Christ divides him from his brethren in Christ, and it was because the Institution had come to be a barrier between the soul of man and the Saviour of Man's soul, that they broke away."

It is often assumed that the alternative to this idea that the Church is an institution founded by Christ, is that the Church is what is called a "voluntary society." The present Archbishop of Canterbury used impressive words on this point in an address[1] at Leicester a few years ago:—

> There are two fundamental conceptions of the Church, between which a decisive choice must be made. Is it created by an association of men or of societies of men, who accept the gospel declared by Christ and give their allegiance to His teaching and example, or is it created by God, a Body or organism of which Christ Himself is the constitutive principle, which men do not form, but into which they are brought? Is it based upon the assent of men, or societies of men, to the Gospel as God's redemptive purpose for mankind, or is it itself part of that Gospel, part of that redemptive purpose . . ? A choice must be made. The whole problem of the unity of the Church depends upon that choice.

No words could be clearer or more emphatic. I think it is impossible to read these words in their context without feeling that the Archbishop was surprised, and very gratified, that the Free Church representatives at the joint conference at Lambeth had made the decisive choice: "The foundation of the Church rests not upon the will or consent or belief of men, whether as individuals or as societies, but upon the creative will of God."

Yes, we can agree to that. But is it quite certain that we mean the same thing by it? The important fact to the Archbishop is the recognition that the Church is not a voluntary society, but a spiritual creation, an act of God. But that is true not only of the Christian society, but of the Christian individual. It is true in the sense of the words, *Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.* The important thing to the Free Churchmen, however, as indicated in their reply, is

1 Printed in *The Lambeth Joint Report on Church Unity.*

the implied conception of the Church as comprehending "all those who have been or are being redeemed by and in Christ." They go on to say more explicitly: "We regard this as meaning that none who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ—faith in Whom is the one indispensable condition of salvation—are to be held as being outside the Church, whatever individual rites or forms for the orderly expression of membership it may be right to maintain in the visible Church."

In other words, the question is not whether or no the Church is a voluntary society or a creation of God, but whether the Church which is the creation of God is a particular institution or a spiritual fellowship.

The distinction is well brought out by Dr. Anderson Scott:[1] "We ask the wrong question if we ask when or by whom the Church was founded; for the word suggests an institution, and there was a church in the true sense of the word before there was an institution. There was a church from the first day 'two or three' gathered together in Christ's name, and round His Person. But if the new community came into being when first two or three were brought into faith-fellowship with Jesus of Nazareth, and so into love-fellowship with one another, it was at or after the day of Pentecost that it came to consciousness of itself, and it did so, not in the first place as an institution, but as a fellowship."

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this distinction. It would, I think, be true to say that among Free Churchmen there has been an increasing recognition of the importance of the Fellowship in Christian origins. Dr. Anderson Scott speaks[2] of the

> "community of those who having believed in Christ and received the Spirit are *ipso facto* united in a sacred society . . . The three phrases 'In Christ,' 'in the Spirit,' and 'in the Fellowship, Body or Church,' represent not three disparate or successive elements of experience, but an identical expression under different aspects."

Again, in "What happened at Pentecost?", he quotes *Acts* 2^{42}, "they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship." which really means "they were steadfastly adhering to the teaching of the apostles and to the fellowship . . . It is not the teaching and fellowship of the apostles to which the community adhered, but the teaching of the apostles, and the fellowship. It was a new name for a new thing, community of spirit arising in community of life; that was the primary result of the coming of the Spirit.[3]

Now in its emphasis on the Church as not merely an instrument of the Gospel, but as being itself part of the Gospel—"part of the fact of Christ," as Dr. Carnegie Simpson expresses it—this is language such as Bishop Gore might use; and indeed in reading Bishop Gore, we are often reminded, up to a point, of our own Dr.

1 *Christianity according to St. Paul*, p. 159. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 158.
3 *The Spirit*, ed. by Canon Streeter, p. 137.

Dale. But the lines divide at this point, the distinction between the Church as an Institution, and as a Fellowship. It is the identification of the Fellowship with a particular Institution which is distinctively "Catholic."

Let us put it another way. The difference between the Catholic and the Evangelical[1] views of the Church is sometimes expressed in this form. The Catholic says that you become a Christian by becoming a member of the Church. The Evangelical says that you become a member of the Church because you are a Christian. It is the old riddle, which came first, the hen or the egg? So here—which came first, the Church or the Christian? The answer surely is, *Neither*. There is something which makes both, *viz.*, Jesus Christ. By the same act by which you become a member of Christ you become a member of His Body, the Church. To stand in faith-fellowship with Christ is to stand in love-fellowship with all who are also in Him. It is thus that Christ makes the Church, but what He creates is not an Institution, but a Fellowship.

There is a remarkable passage in Archbishop Temple's essay on the Church in *Foundations*,[2] which illustrates this very clearly:—

> The Church was founded by the Life, the Teaching, the Birth and Resurrection of Christ, and by the consequent outpouring of the Holy Spirit; it was not made by men; its first members did not constitute it, but joined it; if it should happen that through the infidelity of men the Church on earth should cease for some years or some centuries to exist, yet even then the first man who, by reading the New Testament or otherwise, should become a disciple of Christ, would not be a second founder of the Church; he would merely join the Church—one, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic—to which all the Saints belong. There is, and there can be, only one Church. However multiform its organization, however varied in degree of adequacy its interpretation of the fact of Christ, still in its adherence to that one fact it is one, with a unity not made by its members, but by Christ, when in utter loneliness He bore the Cross from Jerusalem to Calvary.

That was written nearly twenty years ago, before Dr. Temple held the authoritative position which he holds to-day in the counsels of the Church of England. Such a pronouncement from an Archbishop of York would have great significance and value. For it would be no exaggeration to say that what Dr. Temple here imagines—that the Church of Christ should cease to exist—is almost what did happen, in the minds of many, on the eve of the Reformation. They looked at what the Roman Church then was, and they said that, as they understood the New Testament, they did not recognize that Institution as being that Fellowship which was born on the day of Pentecost, that society which Christ made inevitable when He bore the Cross from Jerusalem to Calvary. They did the very thing that Dr. Temple

1 I use these terms as commonly accepted, without prejudice.
2 pp. 341-2.

contemplated. By reading the New Testament or otherwise, they became disciples of Christ, and they did not re-found the Church, they never claimed to do so, but they joined the Church, One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, to which all the Saints belong. They found themselves within the Fellowship of all Believers.

We start then with a different theory of the Church and a different conception of its unity. The Church is not an Institution but a Fellowship; its unity is not static, resting upon a fixed foundation, but dynamic and in relation to a common centre; and this difference in theory shows itself in practice. The Anglican attitude towards unity seems to us to be static, the Free Church movement towards unity is dynamic and progressive. In other words, while all this debate is going on, we are getting on with the job. If it is true to say that the initiative in discussion has been taken by the Anglicans, the initiative in action may be fairly claimed by the Free Churches.

Let us glance at the facts of the situation in this country. We hear a great deal about the multiplicity of sects. The position is much simpler than might be supposed. The Free Churches consist mainly of the Congregationalists and Baptists, with scarcely any difference except upon the question of infant baptism; the Methodists, soon to be united into one corporate body; the Presbyterians, a small denomination consisting chiefly of Scotch people resident in England, in no way related to the Presbyterians of the 17th century, who became Unitarian. There is also the Society of Friends, containing some of the most Christ-like people in England, but in so far as any movement towards corporate reunion is concerned, they are scarcely on the map. The Federal Council of Free Churches also includes the Moravians and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, but they are too small to require special mention in a general survey. For all intents and purposes we are dealing with the Methodists, the Congregationalists (including the Baptists), and the Presbyterians.

Among the Free Churches there are two, or perhaps we should say three, movements in the direction of unity. First in order is the Free Church Council movement: it has done a great deal to foster and to manifest the spirit of unity within the Free Churches, but it is in no sense an ecclesiastical movement. It does not officially represent the denominations, but consists of representatives of individual congregations. It has concerned itself chiefly with our Christian witness upon social questions, and is not a very strong movement to-day chiefly because its place has largely been taken by Councils of Christian Congregations on a broader basis, including the Anglicans. It still holds very successful national meetings, and a joint meeting of the National Free Church Council and the Church Congress would indeed be a splendid witness for unity.

Then there is the Federal Council of Free Churches. This is quite

a different body and a more recent growth. It consists of the official representatives of the denominations. It has issued a "Declaratory Statement of Common Faith and Practice," and an important agreement on the recognition of the Ministry, agreeing to recognize each other's ministers as duly ordained ministers of the Gospel on the ground that "all the Churches recognize the office of the Ministry within the Church as divinely instituted; the necessity of an avowed call of the Holy Spirit to this office, and the duty of the Church to examine the reality of such call." It is not necessary here to enlarge upon the work done by the Federal Council, which includes setting up Advisory Councils in certain districts to prevent over-lapping. It is only at the beginning of its labours, and the really important fact is that it exists, and that complete interchange and recognition of members and ministry exists within all the Federated Churches.

Thirdly, there are proposals for corporate union. The Methodist Churches are on the eve of complete re-union. There are proposals in the air for the union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, and many hope that the Baptists may be included. We should then have two great Free Church denominations—the Methodists and the United Free Church. What is the position of the Church of England to be?

Upon one point there would be almost universal agreement among the Free Churches. We want the Church of England to come into this scheme of federation. It is a federation of Free Churches and there might be some difficulty in adjusting the scheme to the position of the Church of England as an Established Church. But that position is itself in a rapid process of re-adjustment and not much difficulty would be likely to arise. A way could probably be found to-morrow by which the National Assembly could be represented on the Federal Council. It would mean, of course, that our ordained ministers were fully recognized, without equivocation, as ministers of the Word and Sacraments; and that membership in any of our Churches would be accepted as the equivalent of confirmation in the Church of England, and *vice versa*. I know of nothing that would do so much for the cause of unity as such a step as that. Why is it judged to be impossible?

It is, of course, quite impossible for those who hold a definitely Catholic view of apostolic succession and the order of the priesthood. There are many in the Church of Englnad who do not hold these views, and yet they hesitate because, they say, it would split the Church of England and seem to make for ever impossible any union with the Roman Church.

These are not two reasons, but one. It is because the Anglo-Catholics look towards Rome that they would rather break away from the Church of England than take part in any such movement.

Let us speak quite frankly about this. Is it conceivable, we are asked, that any movement can be in a right direction which perpetuates, or even aggravates, the great breach of Christendom? Do we really wish to banish the whole "Catholic" Church from Christendom as we define it?

No, we do not. There are signs of a distinct change in the attitude of Protestants to-day towards Catholicism. The old suspicions, the ancient hatred, still survive. But they are far less common than they were. We recognize that "Catholicism" has conserved certain values. We want to include a great deal of "Catholicism" within the Christian Fellowship, but we cannot confine the Christian Fellowship within the Catholic Institution. That is the root of the whole matter. Consider the question of Episcopacy. The expression so often used about Episcopacy being the recognized organ of the unity and continuity of the Church is one to which the great majority of Free Church people would not subscribe. There is a passage by Canon Liddon[1], in which he says that if he did not believe that the evidence for the Episcopacy was decisive he would not have belonged to the Episcopal communion. "The Episcopate," he says, "if not necessary to the Church, is surely a wanton cause of division among the Reformed Christian Communions, to say nothing of the evils of ecclesiastical ambition which it sometimes arouses."

The evidence for the Episcopate can hardly be called "decisive"—unless in a contrary sense to that intended by Canon Liddon. We are asked to accept the Episcopacy to-day, not as divinely instituted but as the proved organ of unity and continuity. But we incline to agree with Canon Liddon that it has been the cause of division rather than the instrument of unity. Behind the claim that the Episcopacy is the instrument of unity lies the conception of unity in terms of sovereignty. We agree with Canon Streeter[2] that "the identification of unity and sovereignty, already partially discredited in political theory, is entirely misleading when we are seeking for the true conception of the Church."

And yet we are perfectly willing to retain Episcopacy within the Fellowship. But we cannot consent, and never will consent, to confine the Fellowship within the institution of Episcopacy. We must make our position quite clear on this point. Suggestions have been made by which the fact of the Episcopacy could be made as inconspicuous as possible. The presence of the Bishop is not to be obtrusive. It is to be disguised by the presence of representatives of the congregation and the presbytery; no questions are to be asked; no theories are to be implied; but the Bishop *must be there.* He may be reduced to a mere shadow of the Bishop; but he must be

[1] Quoted in Darlow's *Life of Sir William Robertson Nicoll,* p. 390, from a letter.
[2] *Restatement and Reunion,* p. 179.

there. We are not asked to believe that where the Bishop is there is the Church, but still, without him *things can't go on.* Now isn't this playing with words? Either the Bishop is a necessity or he is not. If he is a necessity, a *sine qua non,* then that *is* a theory. Certainly there is room for the Episcopacy within the Fellowship. But the Fellowship cannot be confined to the limits of the Episcopacy.

But there is something more important still. In all the discussions about reunion a great deal is said about Holy Communion. Very little is said about Baptism. But that is probably the greatest difficulty of all. The real stumbling block is the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration. But if we ever come to close grips with this question of reunion, we shall find that Baptism is the difficulty. Let it be granted that it is not the official doctrine of the Catholic Church that children who die without baptism go to hell. If priests would take as much trouble to correct that theory when it is assumed as they do to denounce it when it is asserted, much cruel superstition would be averted. But let us take the words of a Catholic: Dr. Orchard says: " All we need say about infants dying unbaptized is that supernatural salvation is not possible to them . . . to the baptized there is given grace which makes it possible to attain the union with God." So that is all! It is enough. The unbaptized are excluded for ever from the beatific vision. They can never attain to union with God. That belief is held by every Catholic. It is the bed-rock of the whole sacramental system. Here is one of those irrational antinomies of which we spoke, for which institutional Christianity is responsible. It is possible to give a very rich meaning to Baptism, to find for it a place within the Fellowship of those who have found " peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," but to confine the Fellowship within the Institution of Baptism is a supreme example of my whole theme. The Fellowship is larger than any Institution.

What of the future? It is impossible to see very far. There are two possible developments. There might be a movement towards corporate union between the Federated Churches. But it is important to think of this unity movement in terms of the whole world. The next step forward would probably be for each of the Federated Churches to seek close alliance with the corresponding Churches overseas, not only throughout the English-speaking world, but in every country. Here we are touching on new ground and we cannot venture far at this time. But what I have in mind is this—that the time is coming when the great Missionary Societies will restrict themselves more and more to pioneer work, and when the links will be stronger and more direct between the indigenous Churches of India and China, and the Church at home. There is some danger in the tendency towards national Churches. Instead of a network of national Churches, let us visualize a world-wide Methodism, a world-

wide Episcopalianism, a world-wide Presbyterianism, closely federated within each country, and crowned, we hope, before long, with a Federal Council embracing the whole of Christendom. It is possible that in the course of this movement there might be further corporate unions. But we cannot say which way the Spirit will lead us.

> The city is built
> To music, therefore never built at all,
> And therefore built for ever.

All we ask is that all who are striving to build that city shall work together, shall together feed at the Master's Table, and shall manifest to the world that human nature in her infinite variety is at rest in the love of God, which was in Christ Jesus our Lord.

K. L. Parry.

R. W. DALE.

DALE was born in the month of December in the year 1829. That year Darwin, Gladstone, and Lincoln each reached his twentieth birthday. The City of London kept the currents of its life playing about Dale's childhood, and so the incalculable, subtle influences of a vast hive of human beings entered into his life. A good many city boys are from the beginning lost in the crowd. It was not so with Dale. His mother was characterized by intense personal qualities. Perhaps the energy which flashed in her eyes made it inevitable that her son would refuse to be one of those who are content to hold up a mirror before their environment. She had her dreams too. And one of them was that one day her son " Bobbie " should become a minister of the Gospel. Such dreams are sometimes the stuff of which the future is made. Any way, the young London boy took life seriously enough. He read John Angell James's *Anxious Enquirer* through on his knees, desperately eager to find the gateway which opened upon spiritual satisfaction and security. " At last "—his own memorable sentence must tell the story—" how, I cannot tell—all came clear: I ceased thinking of myself and of my faith, and thought only of Christ: then I wondered that I should have been perplexed for even a single hour." Soon after his fifteenth year Dale, who even as a boy was fonder of books than of play, and who at fourteen had been deeply engrossed in Butler's *Analogy,* found himself ready to embark on the adventure of preaching. He had found a life in the things of religion. He had found a voice. And so his own personality began to find expression in the great city where so often the individual seems to count for less than nothing amid the herding crowds of men. Philosophy allured him and at sixteen he conducted a written discussion with a Scottish metaphysician. At eighteen he found himself in Spring Hill College, Birmingham. Henry Rogers, whose pen was at the service of the *Edinburgh Review* in its greatest days, captured his imagination at once. The secrets of noble music which lie in the heart of words allured him. He began to understand the stately fashion in which a cavalcade of sentences can march forward in high argument. One day he was to achieve a prose style which Robertson Nicoll was to consider " one of the most perfect in the whole range of English literature." George Dawson, full of social passion and fearless vigour, appealed to young Dale. And perhaps at this early age he began to see the vision of the Kingdom of God as a great community of goodwill achieved first of all in the very world where we dwell. He put passion and loyalty into his hours of work, and his scholastic course was characterized by achievements of genuine distinction. For fifty years John Angell James made Carrs Lane pulpit a place of power, and when Dale came to Spring Hill College he fell under the wise and understanding eyes

of that powerful preacher. The young man was not especially attracted by the elder, but the elder saw the promise hidden in the life of the younger, and sought to secure his services as assistant and then as co-pastor of Carrs Lane. So it came to be, and upon the death of James in 1859 Dale, now thirty years of age, became the sole pastor of the great church. For thirty-five years—until his death in 1895—the pulpit of Carrs Lane was the centre from which his influence radiated as it reached farther and farther afield.

I

Phillips Brooks defined preaching as "truth given through personality." The preaching of Dale gave the hearer a sense of truth captured in the net of the mind, held close to a heart throbbing with controlled passion, and turned into a flashing weapon by a will whose mastery was firm and secure. There was a superb intellectual dignity about the utterances of Dale. His urbane sentences were clothed with the livery of a veritable court of the mind. But after you had felt the firm texture of his finely articulated sentences you apprehended the soul of the man behind the speech. If he wore his style like a shining suit of armour, there was within a very human personality. He moved along at lofty heights of thought and argument. One quiet woman confessed that while often she quite failed to understand his sermons, his prayers held her allegiance to the Church. "It is here that so great a preacher proclaims the everlasting Gospel," said young Andrew M. Fairbairn as he walked by Carrs Lane Chapel. Men felt as they listened to Dale that Eternity did indeed have dealings with Time, that the pulpit stands at the spot where with a sudden flash of light the Infinite makes itself known to the finite. That substitution of trivial interests for sublime passions which has characterized so many pulpits, and that subtler decadence which is revealed in discussing sublime sanctions in lifeless and artificial speech, never lowered the temperature of Carrs Lane pulpit. The man who allows preaching to become a profession always loses somewhere the secret of creative passion; and to such a man a figure like that of Dale is always an insoluble mystery. "I have never praised you and I have never flattered you," said Dale to his congregation after years of service. He never achieved the facile popularity which comes from voicing the preconceptions and the prejudices of a congregation with bright and friendly ease. The "stern daughter of the voice of God" was never far from his preaching. The mastery of the Christian sanctions found compelling expression in his speech. The Christian religion must be regal if it is to be permanent. And that flash of royal purple which was always seen in the preacher's mind gave a new quality not only to his own pulpit, but brought something new to other pulpits whose occupants came to share his vision and his sense of august authority. Listening to Dale was an experience

something like mountain climbing, but there was ample reward in wide perspective and clear, pure air.

II.

In his early days in the pastorate at Birmingham Dale was told that Carrs Lane people would not stand doctrinal preaching. He retorted that they would have to stand it. " I think God could hardly confer upon this country a greater blessing," he emphatically declared, "than in reawakening that intense interest in religious doctrine which characterized the heroic men who belonged to the times of the Commonwealth." It was as a preacher that Dale became a theologian : and in a profound sense his doctrinal position was the theology of a preacher. His great utterance on the Atonement was formally presented at the Congregational Union lecture in 1875 ; but it was also preached from the pulpit of Carrs Lane. It was essentially the message of a preacher who knew that in the same hour he must satisfy men's minds, capture their consciences, and win their hearts. Hastings Rashdall,[1] after referring to the respect with which Dr. Dale's theory of the Atonement is held in many quarters, sums up his attitude toward it in a sentence not without corrosive acidity : " The constant succession of ambiguities and verbal juggleries in Dr. Dale's book produce a very painful impression—all the more so on account of the high Christian character and the tolerant disposition which the author's writings everywhere reveal." On the other hand, Principal R. L. Franks,[2] after declaring that " Dale's powerful book may be said to be perhaps the most forcible restatement in English of the orthodox theory of the Atonement," and referring to its "establishment by means of a better form of Scripture proof of the place in primitive Christianity of the conception, in however indeterminate a form, of substitutionary and expiatory sacrifice," definitely states that " this is a point to be reckoned with by all theories of the school of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, as far as they attempt to establish a connection with the religion of the New Testament."

Dr. Horace Bushnell, in his *Vicarious Sacrifice,* had stated that view of the Atonement as having its central value in the moral power it exercised as its influence was felt by men, in perhaps the most potent fashion in which that position has ever been expressed. Bushnell, too, was a theologian who was first of all a preacher. His theology, too, rang with the preacher's passion and was saturated with the preacher's appeal. To a man with Dale's relation to historic Christian thinking, but, even more than that, to a man with his own type of evangelical experience, it was inevitable that the work of Bushnell should seem tragically inadequate. His own treatment of the subject is an earnest endeavour to establish the Cross in the conscience without denying

1 *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology.*
2 *A History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ,* II. 420.

its power over the heart. That the great law of righteousness alive in God's life, which means so much in all Dale's thinking, is never quite prevented from being a God to Whom God must bow, I fancy most of us will admit to-day. And that Dale's study of the relation of Christ to the race has an aspect of quite unconscious and unintended pantheism must be admitted by the acute and candid critic. That the fact of the Atonement must, as Professor Denney insisted, have moral and spiritual content, and that too pressing an insistence upon a distinction between the fact and the theory which accounts for the fact may mislead us—this too, I believe, few will be prepared to deny

On the other hand, that Dale's dissatisfaction with Bushnell came from deep roots in the Evangelical experience of the Church, and that there is a Godward side to the meaning of the Cross, one feels sure will receive a recognition whose clearness will be most definite at the moments when the moral and spiritual consciousness of the Church is most deep and sure. Perhaps Dale's most profound contribution came from his perception that there is a moral life in God which must be adequately expressed in order to give authenticity and ethical finality to His relation to men. It is rather a pity to be so occupied by the fact that some of Dale's implements were faulty that we fail to see the spiritual beauty of the temple of thought which he built for worshippers at the Cross.

Quite apart from the elements in his own thinking which came from a modified Calvinism, he knew that there are features in the moral life of man which are met only by fellowship with a God whose tenderness finds ethical vindication at the very moment when it becomes a spiritual power. Dale understood better than most men how easy it was to express the point of view called the " Satisfaction Theory " in a fashion which left it cold and mechanical and unjust. But he was not willing to cast away a conception because it is easy to give it adequate expression. The very infelicities of his expression grow out of his endeavour to give inflexibly honest expression to his convictions concerning the meaning of the deepest moral life of man and the profoundest ethical experience of God. Every nobly important thing happens first in the mind and conscience and heart of God. If you can find security there it is a great and permanent security from which you cannot be dislodged. Perhaps it will always be true that the sentences in which we try to express these ultimate realities will be faulty and fragmentary enough. But a light will fall upon these phrases as we extort them from our deepest mental and moral and spiritual experience. And in that light we shall see God. It is such a light which falls upon page after page of Dale's writing on the Atonement.

III.

Dale had a curious awareness of embryonic ideas and could apprehend their quality before the hour of their birth. To be sure, the

modern conception of authority as a matter of vital experience rather than of formal dialectic had already been adumbrated in the phrase of Coleridge, "The Bible finds me." But before the day when "value judgments" were solving intricate problems in every direction Dale dealt with the questions of certainty and of authentic command, and came to the conclusion that the authoritative is the vital. He dealt with the whole problem at a point which was to become a perfect storm centre of contention, namely, the New Testament, and he focused his attention upon the four Gospels. His book, *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels,* in its treatment of fundamental issues deserves to become—what indeed it is in process of becoming—a classic. The portrait of Christ in the Gospels, he tells us, authenticates its own right by inherent qualities which make themselves felt by honest and earnest minds surveying the portrait. And when that portrait is given the right of entrance into a human life, by a subtle and marvellous transformation the Jesus of history becomes the Jesus of experience. Jesus walks right out of the New Testament into men's lives. This experience, confirmed by generation after generation and century after century, becomes so commanding a thing that those who adequately understand the situation leave the lowlands of doubt for the highlands of assured faith. You can accept every justifiable conclusion of the critical study of the documents and remain assured in a convincing fellowship with the living Christ. Indeed, as Dale reminds us in another volume of doctrinal studies, theism itself becomes convincing in experience rather than in formal dialectic.

When the new critical study of the documents proceeded apace many young men found that Dale had given them a way of safety through the wilderness of confused authorities.

IV.

If experience in the sanctuary within finds the assuring presence of God, it is also true that experience must come forth into the world of actual living and master it in the name of Christ. *The Laws of Christ for Common Life* brings us at once to the mind turned outward upon the world where we are to do Christ's will. "There are no politics in Heaven," wrote a correspondent of Dale: "Sad, sad that your thoughts are not there!". But there are no wrongs to right in Heaven. There are no slums to banish from the New Jerusalem. To make God's will regnant—this had been the endeavour of the great men of the Commonwealth. This became a thing for which Dale was willing to labour with all his powers. Through the efforts of the minister of Carrs Lane and of men like him, Birmingham came to be called "the best-governed city in the world." Politics became a field where one must do battle to obtain the reign of Christ. It was in this spirit that Dale became an active power in the Liberal

Party. " I have seen a statement," said Joseph Chamberlain shortly after his appearance as a member of the House of Commons, " that I go to Parliament as a representative of Mr. Dale. Well, if that be so, there is not a member of the House of Commons who will have a better, nobler, or wiser constituency."

You touch life at its very sources of influence in education; and Dale's passion to see the reign of God in the whole of life was expressed in his wide interest in educational problems. He became a notable expert in matters of education and from the local educational activities of Birmingham to the problems of elementary education in England he made himself felt. He was a potent influence in the removal of Spring Hill College to Oxford and the founding of Mansfield College. In education as in politics he was ready to enter into the drudgery of detailed work, and he filled details with a quality which came from his own glowing perception of the significance of the whole activity of which the details were a part.

Many recognitions came to him. He was Chairman of the Congregational Union. He received an LL.D. degree from Glasgow. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education. He was Chairman of the International Congregational Council. He gave the Yale lectures on preaching. Dean Alford reviewed his sermons with enthusiasm. Westcott was hearty in his appreciation of Dale's work on the *Ephesians*. Cardinal Newman was ready with tributes to his book on the Atonement. He returned from a trip to Australia to a great welcome in Birmingham, typified by the greeting, "We love you and we tell you so." The scholar and thinker and preacher had become in a most potent and noble and practical fashion a man of affairs for the Kingdom of God.

V.

Dr. Gaius Glenn Atkins, one of the most distinguished of American Congregationalists, who is the master of a style in which singular subtlety of thought finds words with gracious undertones of lovely music, has written a memorable volume entitled *Pilgrims of the Lonely Road*. Reading this tale of men who found strange and beautiful secrets in lonely hours, one comes to realize the austere grandeur and the ineffable grace which may belong to hours untouched by human companionship. Following the tale of Dale's brilliant public activities, one might not suspect him of kinship with the men of the lonely road whom Dr. Atkins describes with such perceptive sympathy. But Dale too entered the valley of loneliness. He, too, became a pilgrim of the lonely road. Personal bereavement left deep marks upon his life. And through days of suffering he pressed into new experiences of communion with the unseen Master of Life. He came in almost cataclysmic fashion upon a vital and mastering sense that "Christ is alive." So deeply was he moved by

this experience that every Sunday his people were asked to sing an Easter hymn. The disruption of the Liberal Party left him increasingly isolated. But his loneliness brought no cynical disillusionment. Rather he passed into a sunset glory of communion with God. All the brilliant processes of his dialectic came to glow at last with this wonder of fellowship with the Unseen. In a profound and searching and gracious sense he became a Christian mystic.

Then in 1895 the end came. England joined with Birmingham in doing honour to his memory. No such concourse as his funeral procession had been seen for many years in Birmingham. In Westminster Abbey and in St. Paul's Cathedral voices were lifted in tribute to his achievements and his character. Perhaps most significant of all, young men all about the English-speaking world felt that they had lost a captain whose leadership would be sorely missed in the days of stress and strain which lay ahead.

VI.

Thirty-four years have passed since the death of Dale. They have been years of strange unrest, coming at last upon almost incredible and world-wide tragedy. Hard, clear eyes, distrustful of easy optimisms, are seen in the faces of our young men. C. E. Montague's *Disenchantment* is in many ways a characteristic expression of the mood of our own time. If young men suspect the soul of telling them pleasant lies and subjecting them to the discipline of impossible idealisms, the body speaks with unabated urgency, and many are inclined to surrender to the quick thrust of its impetuous desire. We are greeting the seen with vast energy while we seem to have forgotten how to greet the unseen with a cheer. We know how to make wonderful machines. We are not so secure in the art of producing dependable drivers. To paraphrase the brilliant sentence of W. C. Brownell, we are very keen about being untrammelled, and too often we only succeed in being unbuttoned. We are so much interested in the interactions of things that we under-estimate the significance of the conscious decisions of persons. And just when we begin to feel a certain definite if grim security in the physical world, the science of physics begins to totter before our eyes, and we begin to understand that a good deal of the order in which we have felt so certain has been the creation of minds which ignored the facts which did not fit into their scheme. Liberalism continues to exist but we miss the presence of its soul of moral grandeur. Labour is fighting with those who would use its power for a new exploitation in which the late masters would be the victims, and in its battle with these invading materialisms Labour can scarcely be said to have found a secure hold upon its own soul. The Churchman is tempted by an exotic romanticism in which the true sacramental principle is lost in unethical magic. The Conservative is tempted to use noble

phrases which hide the grim fight for the maintenance of privileges which have no sound or ethical basis. And often it seems that the phrase of Aristophanes once more is demanded by the conditions of the times, and we must say that " whirl is king."

Robertson Nicoll once appealed to the posthumous authority of Dale in a brilliant editorial entitled " The Bones of Elijah." On this hundredth anniversary year of the great Birmingham preacher do we dare to make a similar appeal? It seems to me that such an appeal can triumphantly be made.

In a singular and masterful way Dale combined loyalty and adventure. He was always finding the soul of old sanctions and the spiritual possibilities of new enterprises. In this rare and notable attitude he would be a superb guide for the young men of to-day. Dale listened to the voice of experience. He trusted it. He followed it. But that experience was not an exotic and glittering fragment of life. It was the whole body of experience mastered by the highest moral sanctions which the race had attained. Here again he has a word of tremendous significance to a generation in the mind of many of whose representatives experience means no more than sex, and by whom the slowly evolved moral sanctions are regarded as impertinent interferences with a self-expression which must have the right of way. Dale believed in the "Great Community" of goodwill. But this goodwill was to be the achievement of a glorified and transfigured discipline, and not the lotus-eating satisfaction of a generation with no regard for law. Here too his word is a master-key for many a lock. Dale met Christ at the supreme places of struggle and hope, and so his very criticism was given a firmer assurance by the insight which came from a great fellowship. There are those to-day whose principle would seem to be that if you understand mathematics and have no deep and living fellowship with the harmonies of music you can become a completely adequate critic of music. Neither in music nor in religion would Dale have admitted such a position. And our own most searching and critical experience is likely to vindicate his method and the sanctions upon which he depended. To Dale the moral history of God was the greatest hope for the spiritual life of man. There are those to-day whose impersonal universe knows no stirrings of moral consciousness and no apprehensions of moral sublimity. The working-out of their position in life seems to produce an inevitable thinness of texture in respect of all the deeper matters of experience. Perhaps Dale's belief in a God capable of having a moral history is the most significant aspect of his thought for us to-day. If we can be sure that the moral splendour of the Cross expresses something essential in the ultimate reality of the universe we can get through many difficult days in safety. Taking all in all, Dale is still a phenomenon we cannot afford to ignore. He is still a teacher from whose principles we can learn.

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH.

THE PHŒNIX.

If the ordinary man, the one whom they call the man in the street, to distinguish him from the scholar, the philosopher, or the saint and other more or less attractive members of the genus *Homo*, were to be asked what is a Phœnix, he would probably reply that it is an Insurance Society and in particular a Fire Insurance Society, as may be seen by the token on its literature, and by the brass signs on its protected buildings, where a great bird is seen to be soaring heavenward out of the flames in which it has recently been consumed. Not that the average man has ever seen a Phœnix; he has not, for that matter, ever read the pages of Herodotus, in which we learn about the "sole bird on the Arabian tree," who brings periodically the ashes of his predecessor from the sole tree on which the sole bird lives and deposits them on the Altar of the Sun in Heliopolis. If, however, he has not studied this special branch of ornithology, he knows at least that it is the symbol and sign of Fire Insurance. Viewed from that limited point of view, the Phœnix at once acquires religious value; its outward sign might properly be attached to religious buildings, such as churches, for it would naturally be assumed that what one might attach to a building on the outside, is also in some way predicated in parabolic form of the worshippers on the inside. When the pro-slavery mob in Philadelphia set fire to the hall in which the abolitionists met, a Quaker woman standing in the crowd was heard to remark: "It will rise again from its ashes, like the Phœnix!". That was a way of re-interpretation of Fire Insurance: it meant for the cause that was being destroyed an assertion of Life Assurance. Something like that has gone on in the world of religious thought, as we will show more clearly presently. Meanwhile it should be noticed that in the history of Fire Insurance it almost always happens that business which begins with Fire has to be extended to Life, and the company is probably now designated as the Phœnix Fire and Life Insurance Society. If another Society should be formed, and a new sacred symbol be necessary, we shall find the Sun as a rival company to the Phœnix. We shall show you that this is only a change of name, not of nature—the Sun is the Phœnix and the Phœnix is the Sun; but we must not move too fast. Before we approach our theme from the standpoint of natural history or folk-lore, let us repeat what was involved or suggested in what has preceded: that the Church in general and the churches in particular are Fire Insurance Societies to which a Life Assurance department has been subsequently attached. In that connexion we observe that almost all churches are ashamed of the Fire Insurance business and anxious to transfer to the other. When, for example, Faber wrote his beautiful lines on Perfection, he began by saying that—

'Tis not enough to save our souls,
To shun the eternal fires;
The thought of God will rouse the heart
To more sublime desires.

When we read that verse, we can see that it is almost apologetic for having such a doctrine at all; if one must hold it, Faber as a Catholic holds it very leisurely; and I think you will find that a great dogma held leisurely is a dogma that is abandoned. It may still be a say-so; it is no longer a believe-so.

And now let us leave theology and turn, as promised, to natural history and folk-lore. The tale of the Phœnix, its natural history so far as it exists in nature, its religious value, so far as it conveys a religious interpretation, comes to us from Egypt; the Greeks learned it, for the most part, from Herodotus, who is careful to guard himself as a historian from putting too great a strain on the capacity of the Greeks for receiving a foreign fable. It is Herodotus who draws for us the picture of the aged worn-out bird lying down to rest in his nest of spices and setting fire to his nest and himself. It is Herodotus who tells us of the worm that creeps out of the flame and grows and becomes a new Phœnix, who makes a little coffin of spices, which he carefully tests for weight, to see whether he can fly all the way to Egypt with so much burden in his beak. It is Herodotus, too, who shows us the priests of the Sun at Heliopolis conning their ancient records, in order to verify that it is exactly 500 years since the last arrival of the great bird with the sacred ashes to put upon the Altar of the Sun. A long-lived bird, you will say; and a wide-stretched imagination! The priests must have been amusing themselves with Herodotus; for Egyptologists will tell us that the Phœnix only lived a single day, and that he was very much at home in Heliopolis, with never a thought of returning to Arabia; that his sacred tree was no isolated palm tree in the spice gardens of the Southern lands, to which foreigners might not approach, for fear of disturbing the Great Bird or their Faith, or the South-Arabian monopoly of the incense trade; he had, indeed, a tree of his own, but it was the sacred Persea tree in the temple precincts of Heliopolis, where he showed himself every morning exactly at sunrise, while Ra, the Sun-god, was bathing in the sacred lake at the foot of the tree. His name was not Phœnix, a mere Greek invention, his real name was Bennu; and when we have said so much, we see that the Bennu bird is really the Sun himself, or his ornithological equivalent; and the dying and rising of the bird, which Herodotus elaborates, is really the daily dying and rising of the Sun. It is not necessary to throw Herodotus on one side: it is never safe to do that; in the present case all that we have to say is that the story in Herodotus is a more advanced form of folk-lore than that which was current in Heliopolis itself and believed in by the Egyptians generally. That does not mean that all that Herodotus

said was nonsense. In that connexion we may consider briefly the account which St. Clement of Rome gives of this same story of the Phœnix, which he firmly believed, and in the same manner as Herodotus related. I rather suspect that Clement had been influenced by talk which was going on in Rome in the first century; it was said that a Phœnix actually appeared in Rome and had been seen in the Forum. If it had been an English Forum, the bird would promptly have been shot and stuffed, and put in South Kensington Museum along with the Dinornis and the Dodo. In Clement's day they did not shoot rare birds: they just believed in them; that was easier. Clement believed with the rest; and when he was writing his famous Epistle to the Corinthians he used the Phœnix story as follows:—

> Let us consider the marvellous sign which is seen in the regions of the East, that is, in the parts about Arabia. There is a bird, which is named the Phœnix. This, being the only one of its kind, liveth for five hundred years; and when it hath now reached the time of its dissolution that it should die, it maketh for itself a coffin of frankincense and myrrh and the other spices, into which in the fulness of time it entereth, and so it dieth. But as the flesh rotteth, a certain worm is engendered, which is nurtured from the moisture of the dead creature and putteth forth wings. Then, when it is grown lusty, it taketh up that coffin where are the bones of its parent, and carrying them journeyeth from the country of Arabia even unto Egypt, to the place called the City of the Sun; and in the day-time in the sight of all, flying to the Altar of the Sun, it layeth them thereupon; and this done, it setteth forth to return. So the priests examine the registers of the times, and they find that it hath come when the five-hundredth year is completed.
>
> Do we then think it to be a great and marvellous thing, if the Creator of the universe shall bring about the resurrection of them that have served him . . . seeing that He showeth to us even by a bird the magnificence of His promise?

Unfriendly critics of early Christian teachers have been quick to use this passage in which Clement buttressed the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Flesh, which not every one either in Rome or Corinth was sure about, by means of the Resurrection of the Phœnix, which no reasonable person had any doubts of. It is not a bad illustration of the way in which certain things come to be believed, the Pelion of an impossible Flesh-Resurrection being perched upon the Ossa of a re-vivified Phœnix, and the Olympus of Truth not being scaled. We must, however, concede to Clement that his interpretation was right as far as it went. The Phœnix did stand for a sort of resurrection. What Clement did not know was, as we now proceed to demonstrate, that there was an earlier Phœnix doctrine which has been lost sight of. In order to recover it, we must come to the Far West, and to the early Celtic Romances, where we shall find our old friend the Phœnix again, and a fresh explanation of his marvellous transformation among the Romances to which we refer, one of the most interesting of which is the *Voyage of Maeldune*, a monk, who,

with a handful of companions, set out to find the Islands of the Blessed, including the Island of St. Brandan, far out of sight in the Atlantic Ocean. They found, not one island, but many, each with a wonder of its own, some beautiful Flower-land, or Fruit-land, or Dread-Monster-land; one day they came to an island which they call the Mystic Isle, on which they landed; it had in it a lake, which was the Fountain of Youth which was known to be somewhere in the Islands of the Blessed.

A strange sight met their view. On the borders of the lake a great bird, whose appearance indicated old age and prophesied decay, was busily occupied in picking off his old feathers, and bathing himself in the magic waters. He had come there to be born again. This aged Phœnix was tended by two young birds who, on the third day of his rejuvenation, "smoothed his plumes with the nicest touches and arranged them in beautiful lines and ridges . . . The old bird, after the others had left, continued to smooth and plume his feathers till evening; then, shaking his wings, he rose up and flew three times round the island, as if to try his strength, and now the men observed that he had lost all the appearance of old age . . . "

It now appeared very clear to Maeldune and his companions that this bird had undergone a renewal of youth from old age, according to the word of the prophet which says :"Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle." Diuran (one of Maeldune's companions), seeing this great wonder, said, " Let us also bathe in the lake, and we shall obtain a renewal of youth like the bird." So Diuran, his companions protesting, " plunged in and swam about for some time . . . in the end he swallowed a small quantity. He then came out perfectly sound and whole; and he remained so ever after; for, as long as he lived, he never lost a tooth or had a gray hair (God save the mark!), and he suffered not from disease or bodily weakness of any kind. But none of the others ventured in."

Such was the tale that they told in Ireland in the old time. It is clear that the great bird who comes for renewal to the Lake of Youth in the Western seas is our old friend, Ra, the Sun-god of Egypt, the Bennu bird of Heliopolis; and I suppose that the two younger Phœnixes who assisted in his restoration from weariness to youthful strength, are the Morning and the Evening Star, which the ancients believed to be distinct luminaries.

Now we begin to see what lay behind the doctrine of Clement concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh as taught by the Phœnix. There is an older doctrine behind the Resurrection Doctrine; it is the belief in rejuvenation. To attain this blessing, one had to increase one's faith, and to seek after those happy lands beyond the Sunset, where was hidden the Fountain of Youth, with its benediction of a continued existence where "age does not weary, nor the years con-

demn " : and it is interesting to see that Maeldune and his company had detected that this belief, and not the physical resurrection of the body after death, was already foreshadowed in the *Old Testament*. They quote quite aptly the 103rd *Psalm*, " Thy youth is renewed like the eagle " ; that means the Phœnix, whom Herodotus compared to an eagle. They might also have quoted what one of Job's friends said to him would happen if he would change his mind about his sufferings and the reason of them (*Job* 33 [25]) :—

> Thy flesh shall be fresher than a child's;
> Thou shalt return to the days of thy youth.

An even more striking scriptural reference may be noted in the Canon of the Mass in the Roman Church, which begins with the words :—

> I will go to the altar of God :
> Unto God Who renews my youth.

That is a mistranslation of *Ps.* 43 [4] :

> Then will I go to the altar of God,
> Unto God my exceeding joy.

The error in the text is an evidence for the currency of the belief in rejuvenation.

We are not disposed to say there is nothing to be made of such a belief, in view of the language of our Lord about being born again and becoming like little children. Perhaps religion may be defined as the art of growing young again ; there are " new-born babes " in *Peter*, and " little children " in *John*. In reality we are all born old, with old feathers of heredity sticking out everywhere. I believe they call them complexes nowadays. How does one rid one's self of them, for I remember once saying that " if we have no gospel against heredity, it is doubtful if we have any gospel at all " ? There appear to be two methods in the *New Testament* : one is called Law, the other Grace. The former attempts to pick off the old feathers, the latter proposes to make a new bird. Grace is the true medicine for heredity : it is grace that produces the real rejuvenescence in the will. It is the bath in the will of God that makes the New Man in Christ Jesus. The *New Testament* calls it an Immersion or Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Our Phœnix, then, is an evangelical bird; he will serve as an ornithological commentary on the Pauline injunction to " put off the old man and put on the new." He will become a baptismal symbol. Indeed, I think he has already attained to that dignity, for I found recently, on the cover of an old font at Tysoe Church in Oxfordshire, a carved wooden bird, certainly neither dove nor eagle, engaged, if one might judge from the attitude which the sculptor has given him, in the very task which Maeldune observed, of preening new feathers in place of the older variety. It is a resurrection symbol which has

again its counterpart in the Apostolic teaching, where the Christian believes in being baptismally buried and raised again.

RENDEL HARRIS.

P.S.—Since the foregoing pages were written, Prof. Calder has published an inscription from Asia Minor in which a young man, apparently of Christian faith and parentage, is spoken of as one "whom the Immortals loved—wherefore also we laved him in immortal fountains—and set him in the islands of the Blessed Immortals." If this is really Christian, we have the very language employed about Baptism that is proper to the Fountain of Youth. It is not, however, quite clear that this interpretation can be sustained. It may still be better to amend the reading on the stone and say "they laved him, *etc.*"

ELISABETH LESEUR.

In the year 1919 an old friend of mine, a Presbyterian minister in Edinburgh, placed in my hands a book entitled: *Journal et Pensées de Chaque Jour*, by Elisabeth Leseur. "Read that," he said, "it's piety *and* brains!". His manner showed that the book meant a great deal to him, and, as I value his judgment very highly in such matters, I took the book away with me and read it. It impressed me then. This year I have re-read it and pondered it, and it has impressed me far more deeply. Meanwhile the book has been making its way through Europe. It has been translated into English, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Danish, Dutch, Czech, and Polish. Since then other books by the same writer have appeared, some of which have also been translated. They bear the titles *Letters on Suffering, Letters to Unbelievers, The Spiritual Life.*

Who then was Elisabeth Leseur? How did the *Journal* come to be written? What accounts for its wide influence?

France has had her great sceptics; she has also had her great saints. Deep down in the soul of this great people the spiritual conflict is always going on. Sometimes the critical spirit, the penetrating intelligence, the passion for logical definition, stifles spiritual life; at others the latent capacity for devotion and heroism breaks through all obstacles, and rises to heights of rare spiritual achievement. If France produced Montaigne and Voltaire, she also produced Pascal and Charles de Foucauld.

In a very curious way Elisabeth Leseur belonged to both worlds—the world of Pascal and the world of Voltaire. Yet it is to the France of Pascal that she owes her enduring influence. If she had cast in her lot with the world of Voltaire no one outside her own immediate circle would have come under her influence.

Elisabeth Leseur belongs to our own day. She was born on 16th October, 1866, and she died on 3rd May, 1914. Outwardly her life seemed destined to follow a very ordinary course. She belonged to an educated middle-class family in Paris. Her parents were Catholics, but not particularly ardent ones. Elisabeth learnt her Catechism, "made her First Communion," like all the other young girls of her circle. It was all part of the customary conventions and seemed to make little impression upon her. Gifted with a keen intelligence, she entered into her studies with great zest and continued to study after she was grown up. She developed into a charming, cultivated woman of the world, using the word in the best sense. She had a keen enjoyment of all that intellect and art could offer. She knew Latin and English; she spoke and wrote Russian fluently; later she took up the study of Italian.

In the early twenties she married Felix Leseur, a brilliant young agnostic, whose interests were mainly intellectual and political; further, he was an ardent anti-clerical. The Leseurs' new home soon became a social centre for young politicians of the Left, publicists, journalists, doctors, professors, scholars, men of letters, musicians, dramatic writers, and artists. Elizabeth took her place naturally and easily in this society, was a charming hostess, and she and her husband went out a great deal. There were no children, which left Elisabeth free to cultivate her own powers and enter into the interests of her husband. Together they travelled much—in Spain, Italy, North Africa, the East, Greece, Germany, and Russia. All this experience served to form a cultivated taste in matters of art and literature, and thus to broaden and deepen the scope of her mind. Elisabeth remained fresh and simple, modest and unaffected in all her ways.

Ill-health was never far away, however, and for many years Elisabeth suffered from the disease which finally overcame her. Long illnesses broke up her life from time to time. Other sorrows came upon her. Until the year 1908 she was able to lead a fairly normal life, outwardly, in between attacks of illness. From 1908 to 1912 she was forced to lead a very restricted existence. From 1912 the cloud of ill-health deepened, until, after a period of great physical suffering, she died on 3rd May, 1914, at the age of 48.

These are the bare facts of her external life.

The story of Elisabeth's inner development is of great interest, especially when we remember its setting. As we have seen, her early years were conventional enough. Apparently she went to church as a matter of course, and was conscientious in the performance of her "religious duties." Then came her marriage. The course of her life was being deepened and widened. What followed is best told in her husband's own words.

"At the time of our marriage," he writes, "I was determined to respect my wife's convictions, and to allow her to practise them freely. But very soon I became impatient of having someone always with me whose positive convictions opposed my negations, and, as religious neutrality is as great a fiction in private relationships as it is in public institutions, I made Elisabeth the object of my perverted proselytism. I began to attack her beliefs, I tried to take her faith away from her, and—may God in His mercy pardon me—I was almost successful. During 1897 I succeeded in persuading her to give up the outward performance of her religious duties; at the same time her faith was severely shaken, she was greatly drawn towards the views of 'Liberal' Protestantism, which, in my opinion, was only a stage on the way towards complete agnosticism."

Hoping to attain his end more swiftly, M. Leseur gave his wife Renan's *Vie de Jésus*. The reading of this book had the opposite

effect; Elisabeth was not blinded by the elegance of the style; she examined the content of the book with a cool, dispassionate, criticism and found it meagre and unsatisfactory. This opened her eyes. The glamour faded from her " new opinions " and she shrank back in horror from the logical results of the ideas with which she had been playing. With her usual decision she determined to re-think the whole religious question for herself. Her husband had a whole library of anti-religious books. " Very well," she said, " I will make my own library upon my own lines." Gradually she gathered a collection of the best religious books, both in theology and in personal religion. Her shelves were full of spiritual classics. Above all she set herself to study the New Testament. She read and re-read, until she had steeped herself in it. Very soon she made it a habit to meditate on a passage of the New Testament every day of her life. Resolutely she set herself to seek God, and she was found of Him. The process of conversion was slow, silent, and solitary. She had no human help. Alone, amongst critical mocking people to whom she could reveal nothing of what was passing in her soul, she yielded to the deep quiet pressure of God upon her. Soon her husband realized that she was slipping away from him as far as religion was concerned. Irritated by the failure of his efforts when he thought he was on the verge of success, he attacked her faith in every possible way. He confesses that he " tried to laugh her out of it." But it was all in vain. Elisabeth stood firm; nothing could now shake either her faith in God or her love for her husband.

Years afterwards Elisabeth wrote thus about this period of her life: " When I look back upon my life I see that my childhood and youth, and indeed the beginning of my maturer years, were passed in ignorance of and then in alienation from God. I look back and see how the first rays of Divine Light shone fitfully upon a life lived in indifference and occupied with trivial things; then came the decision to give up every outward link with God, and the total forgetfulness of Him in my heart. Then came the slow and silent action of Providence in me and for me, that wonderful work of inner conversion which was initiated, guided, and achieved by God alone, apart from all human influence, from all external contacts, sometimes in the midst of that which ought to have destroyed my faith altogether."

Thus, steadily, in hiddenness and silence, holding on through all weathers, Elisabeth's conversion was completed. She was about thirty when the change took place.

After several years of extreme spiritual isolation, and when she was already fully established in the inner life, she first met (in 1903) the priest who was to be her director until the end of her life. His own account of Elisabeth at this stage is interesting and illuminating:

> I did not know Madame Leseur during the years when she says that she was alienated from God. At the beginning of 1903 she had

> already a firm faith which nothing could shake . . . At this time, however, Madame Leseur had a very " strong and solemn sense " that a new period of life was opening up before her. On the 29th of March, 1903, she had re-consecrated herself and her whole future to Jesus Christ. I can testify that she never lost sight of this act of consecration, and that all her inner effort was in the direction of preserving this spirit. In order that she should make steady progress towards the ideal she had now set before her, I saw clearly that one piece of preparatory work had to be done. It was imperative to establish this soul in peace by requiring her to give up the practice of excessive self-analysis which would have paralysed her through the agitation it caused. It was a legacy of the past. The habits of self-examination which she formed and which at one time had been useful enough were now becoming dangerous. She could quite easily have fallen into a " scrupulous habit of mind " seeking with anxious solicitude that moral and spiritual purity which should have no stain of imperfection of any kind, not even the slightest . . . This danger had to be averted. Madame Leseur was too clear-sighted not to understand the necessity of getting rid of this habit of mind as soon as it was pointed out to her . . . With marvellous promptitude she threw off this " mania for perfection " as she called it . . . the difficulty never returned . . . The only trace that remained was a singularly clear and acute understanding of herself . . . The " new existence " of Elisabeth Leseur developed harmoniously, with transparent grace and sincerity, according to the word in the Gospel: *If thine eye be single thy whole body shall be full of light.*

But although Elisabeth Leseur had found a director she remained very independent. In the depths of her soul she was still alone, suffering acutely from the utter lack of comprehension in her home. These circumstances explain why she was almost forced to find an outlet for her secret thoughts in the record which is now called her *Journal*. The book is scarcely a journal in the accepted sense; it is rather the record at varying intervals of her inward response to life. Here she reveals herself, her real self. It is the record, truthful, clear, restrained, of a rarely fine, large, and generous soul.

Baron Von Hügel's appreciation of the book might be taken as typical of much that has been said about it. In his *Letters* he writes to a friend:—

> " There is just one little set of details I should like to put down. The names of two authors who have come up before me. The one is Madame Elisabeth Leseur who died in 1914. Her *Journal,* published after her death by her husband, is assuredly a very striking document . . . a very rare book."

A spirit of harmony pervades all that she writes. Here are no despairing cries of anguish, no self-tormenting doubts, no murmurs against life, or other people, or God. Although she suffered greatly from the spiritual isolation in which she lived, there is an entire absence of self-pity; she is without bitterness, without resentment. As she comes before us in the pages of her *Journal* we feel that the beautiful description of another great woman of our own day might have been applied to her with equal force:—

> Here she seems definitely to have taken her stand, and to come before us in this picture, freed from all trammels of self, clothed in liberty of spirit, adorned with simplicity, radiant with confidence, refreshed by sorrow, loving and loved, breathing peace and joy around her, for in her now and henceforth was God's homeliest home and His endless dwelling.

The clue to the understanding of the *Journal*, and indeed to the life of Elisabeth Leseur, lies in the sense of vocation which came to her after her slow, deep conversion had become an established fact. Over and over again we come across allusions to the " apostolate " to which she had given her life. This burning desire to make God known to other souls, and especially to those most dear to her, she felt to be a special gift from God. Here is a typical passage :—

> In an act of faith and love, having rendered my heartfelt thanks to God, for all that He has done for me, I offer and consecrate myself to Him, asking of Him one grace alone : that of loving Him more and more and of being His apostle to those whom I love and to other souls.

Her husband speaks of " the peculiar personal apostolate that was so essentially her work. . . . Her vocation was to be an apostle, and she perceived it clearly, and frequently spoke of it to others." There are several allusions to it in her *Journal* and *Letters*. The view that she herself took of her apostolate may be described in the following quotations from her *Journal* :—

> I feel very keenly what the name of apostle means and the duties that it involves. In the first place the interior life must become more and more vigorous ; I must seek charity and humble serenity more than ever in the Holy Eucharist and prayer, and assign a thoroughly supernatural end to my intentions. Secondly, I must cultivate my mind . . . I must never do anything hastily or in a superficial manner, but gain, as far as I can, a solid grasp of the subjects that I take up. I must transform and sanctify this intellectual work by giving it a supernatural intention, and by doing it humbly, with no thought of self, but simply for the sake of souls.

In another place she writes :—

> I must ask God to give me more and more insight into souls, and approach them through the intellect and heart, and with this aim in view I must strengthen my own intellect and warm my heart. I must both work and act calmly. . . Before taking any action I must establish myself in peace, banish from my soul by means of recollection all that might disturb or agitate it, fortify my will by prayer and meditation, and then set to work with humility, joy, and courage.

Such extracts suffice to show that Elisabeth interpreted her vocation with the greatest breadth and wisdom as well as with spiritual depth and insight. We feel in her something of the calmness and certainty of the Gospels ; here is no religious fanatic, unbalanced and feverish, but a sane, strong woman, with all her powers well under control. The restraint and reserve, imposed upon her by the circum-

stances of her life, never lessened her influence over other souls; rather it deepened and purified it. She came to see that very often she served the cause of God best by a living silence, in which, as she expresses it: "Everything in me should speak of Him without pronouncing His Name." She saw the ordinary contacts of daily life as part of her apostolic vocation; indeed, her innate good sense and her humanity are never more evident than in her notes about things that many would consider trivial.

She often speaks, for instance, of her desire to draw souls to God through the beauty of her home, through courtesy of manner, and even through an attractive appearance. At one point in her life when she was being more and more absorbed by the deepest realities of the inner life she resolves to "practise a little worldliness," she takes extra pains with her dress and forces herself to talk about the fashions, in order that she may not alienate any of the friends and acquaintances who came about the house. She is full of the thought that she can only honour Him Whom she worships by all the beauty and attractiveness she can put into the little things of every day.

As time goes on we find this "love of souls" becomes more and more her ruling passion; everything she does, or suffers, or endures is offered to God for the welfare of the souls nearest to her, and for the Church and the world outside. Nothing is too hard to be borne if only souls are won to God.

> I resolve to consecrate resolutely my intelligence, my will, my heart, my whole soul and my whole being to God, to the extension of the kingdom of God in the world and among souls. I long to spread around me a little of that warmth which He has breathed into my heart, of that "fire" which consumes me and from which I suffer unless I am able to kindle it in other souls.

Strong as was her sense of vocation, Elisabeth Leseur realized from the outset that her response to it involved continuous and severe self-discipline. Never losing sight of the fact that she was utterly dependent upon the grace of God, she felt at the same time that she must co-operate with Him with all her might. In this respect also she seems to have achieved a wonderful balance. Her resolutions are characterized by sanity and reality. She faced the facts of her life unflinchingly and turned them all to the highest ends. Life for her was often very hard; there were long stretches of physical misery, periods of overwhelming fatigue due to the disease which undermined her strength; there were painful bereavements, and many anxieties. When she would gladly have given herself to some great cause she had to lead a life full of little duties and many restrictions. When she longed to be alone and think and pray she had to put on a becoming dress and receive visitors smilingly. When she would have desired time to do concentrated intellectual work she had to be content with days that often must have seemed "frittered away" in

social duties in which it was very hard to see a gleam of spiritual light or meaning.

She confesses that these things are painful and burdensome, and then she lifts them up to God, makes of them a sacrifice of love and obedience, and finds peace in the act of acceptance. It is quite obvious that all this did not happen without a struggle, but the fact remains that she won through.

Clear-sighted in her self-knowledge, she welcomed everything which fostered humility. Full of the love of truth for its own sake, she desired " truth in the inward parts." Resolutely and silently she set herself to fight against everything that tended to self-occupation. Over and over again in her *Journal* there are references to the need for *silence*. In one of her papers she sums up her desires on this point in the following way :—

> Silence regarding God, spiritual matters and the soul, unless speech is necessary in order to acknowledge my faith or to do good to the souls of others.
>
> Silence regarding my own soul, the graces that I have received, and my spiritual life, unless charity requires me to break this silence to a very guarded and humble degree.
>
> Silence regarding myself, my trials, privations and health. I will answer questions truthfully and without affectation, and then be silent again.
>
> Silence is good for the soul, essential to recollection, conducive to humility. Remember our Lord's silence throughout His life and during the hours of His Passion. . . . I will talk about nothing trivial or mean, and no petty grievances. In a word, my speech shall be recollected and my silence living."

She realized that " all the raw material for sanctity is in the *now* just as it is." Reading her thoughts and resolves, one is reminded of Henry Martyn, who wrote of his experience in bad health : " I resolved to lead a life of more self-denial, and the tone and vigour of my mind rose rapidly."

As a matter of course almost, she had a *Rule of Life*, which she observed with that sense of freedom and simplicity which was so characteristic of her. This *Rule* included daily meditation, a confession once a fortnight, frequent communion (" as often as I can without upsetting anyone at home "), and attendance at Mass when possible twice a week. Every month she made a short private retreat, which, however, was kept quite unobserved from her household : this evidently meant that she kept the day as free from social engagements as possible, and concentrated her mind in all the time she could spare upon certain thoughts which were to direct her during the following month. Once a year she made a longer retreat, subject, however, to the same restrictions as the monthly day of retirement. The notes on Spiritual Retreat for Each Month—published in the book called *The Spiritual Life*—show how thoroughly she carried out

the spirit of these brief retreats, although conditions were not particularly favourable. As far as she could she availed herself of all the ordinary "means of grace," and she found the greatest refreshment and strength in the Holy Communion. Frequently, however, she was deprived of all outward helps, and it is clear that her life was nourished chiefly by her own deliberate use of the means at hand, mainly the regular practice of prayer and spiritual reading, including daily meditation on a passage from the New Testament. Her allusions to prayer are frequent and full of freshness. In one of her monthly retreats she summed up her thoughts on prayer at that period thus:—

> Prayer seems to be, according to God's will, the basis of my spiritual vocation. Action is often impossible for me, but prayer is a field always open to apostolic zeal. It is the safest mode of action and does not endanger humility. It keeps the soul in close and constant union with God. It effects much good in ourselves and others. It never breaks the deep silence that ought to prevail in the soul. It passes unnoticed by all, and this is seldom possible in the case of action.
>
> I must therefore pray—the wholly interior prayer of the soul, proceeding from her innermost depths; without words offering God my most ardent desires and love, and giving myself to Him. Prayer for myself, for the souls dear to me, for all souls, for the Church. Such prayer is an inward movement of my heart towards Christ, and a consecration of myself to Him, my Master and my Friend.

In a memorable passage St. Teresa says: "For my part, and I have been long at it, I desire no other gift of prayer but that which ends in making me a better and better woman. By its fruits your prayer will be known to yourselves and others." What, then, were the fruits of prayer and of all the deep inward life of Elisabeth Leseur?

First and foremost, perhaps, we might put *courage and the transformation of suffering*. This element in her character impressed her husband very powerfully, and finally caused him to modify his attitude towards her religious convictions. He describes this change in the following passage:—

> My attitude was modified from the year 1908. When I saw how ill she was, and knew too that she was suffering from one of those affections of the liver which usually cause such depression, misery, impatience and self-centredness, and yet when I saw how even she remained in temper, I was greatly struck by the power of her mind over her body and by her entire self-control. Realizing that she drew this strength from her convictions, I gave up attacking them. And then, in 1911, after her operation, my astonishment deepened into respect, and in 1912 . . . into admiration . . . More and more I wondered at and admired her moral force in the midst of physical agony . . . and I bowed my head before the sublimity of the sentiment which thus sustained and ennobled her.

Without understanding the faith which sustained her, M. Leseur felt, as he said afterwards, that he was in the presence of something

"supernatural." This testimony would be confirmed by all who knew her. To them all her courage was amazing. But it seems probable that few would have understood the secret source of her victory. She herself was quite clear, however, and her attitude comes out clearly both in her *Journal* and in her *Letters*. I cannot do better than let her speak for herself:—

> There are moments in life when we should look neither backwards nor forwards, nor to either side, but solely contemplate the Cross, that which God offers to us and from which will flow great graces both for ourselves and for others.
>
> I know (she is writing to a friend) what suffering means, the wonderful and mysterious power which it possesses, what it achieves and what it accomplishes. In reality our action is a very small thing. . . . Therefore when it pleases God to use suffering (rather than action) to carry on His work, I believe that we ought not to be too sorry for ourselves, for we may then be sure that the work will be well done and that it will not be mingled with all that wretched egotism and pride which sometimes spoil our external activity. I know by experience that certain graces were obtained for others during the hour of trial, graces which we could not gain before with all our efforts. Thus I have come to this conclusion, that suffering is a higher form of action, the highest expression of the Communion of Saints, and that in suffering one is sure of being freed from self-deception, sure also of being useful to others, and to the great causes one so longs to serve.

So we see that for her suffering was transformed by becoming part of her apostolic vocation. In this dread "sacrament" the love of souls found its highest and purest expression.

If there is one word which occurs oftener than another in her *Journal* it is the word *serenity*. Once she had realized that God's will for her lay in the peaceful acceptance and utilization of every experience of life, she set herself to learn that quiet self-control and serene unselfishness which she believed He desired to teach her. She did not learn the lesson without difficulty. In 1902 she writes:—

> A new year has begun for me. I want to fill it with better things than formerly. There are plenty of things to improve; my pride, my tendency to be slack about starting any job, letting the days slide past without accomplishing much, and the habit of letting outward agitation get a hold over me. And I have such a great need of calmness and interior life. God alone knows how difficult I find it at times to achieve real self-control in the midst of certain troubles of mind and body, how difficult to have that serenity which nothing can disturb and which is truly Christian.

A year later she says:—

> Thank God, I have made some progress in self-control, in spite of the trying state of ill-health. . . . More and more I long to acquire that full serenity which comes from God and which I will ask Him to give me.
>
> I will endeavour to preserve, by prayer and constant effort, an untroubled serenity, outwardly, and continual gentleness. I will try

to remain outwardly calm when I am painfully shaken and agitated within.

Many more instances could be cited to show how earnestly she prayed for this gift of serenity. And the prayer was fully answered. One friend used to say to his wife when he thought she was getting worried and overwrought: "Go and see Elisabeth! You need to bathe in her serenity."

But, as we have seen, her deepest desire was for the winning of souls to God. For this she offered her prayers, her sufferings, her disappointments, her intellectual work, and her whole life. And in this respect her life was singularly fruitful. Working very quietly, in extreme seclusion, her influence became stronger and stronger, reaching out and touching many lives. People of all kinds turned to her for sympathy, for advice, for spiritual help. Her correspondence was enormous. Almost in spite of herself she became, informally, a director of souls. Her influence was never stronger than during the last years of her life, when her sufferings were most intense. After her death the work went on. For the first time her husband read her *Journal*; it made a deep impression upon him. A few months later, through some strange and powerful experiences quite apart from the Church, he felt himself drawn out of his former state of uncomprehending rationalism, and after some weeks of search and struggle he became fully converted to God.

Elisabeth Leseur was a priestly soul, a "living, throbbing centre," in which Divine Grace and human need met. Robert Hugh Benson's lines seem to sum up the spirit of her life:—

> She moves in tumult; round her lies
> The silence of the world of grace;
> The twilight of our mysteries
> Shines like high noonday on her face:
> Our piteous guesses, dim with fears,
> She touches, handles, sees and hears.

OLIVE WYON.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE CONTINENTAL EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

THE Congregationalist leaders who founded the Evangelical Continental Society in 1845 were men of the large heart and the long view. These men—such as the late Samuel Smith and others whose names were household words in the denomination—were thoroughly convinced that the faith and order of the Congregational Churches came the nearest to the faith and order of the New Testament Churches. But they were more than Congregationalists. They were truly catholic Christians, believing that by the leading of the Spirit God fulfils Himself in many ways, and that, no matter what may be the "diversities of operation," any Church that owns Christ as its Head, seeks the seal of His calling on its ministry, and opens its heart and mind to fresh inspiration and new light from the "Light of the world," is a true branch of the Church of Christ, one and indivisible. They founded the Society, not as a Congregational Society. The object was not to propagate Congregational principles on the Continent, not to add to the denominational divisions another denomination, but to give financial aid and sympathetic encouragement to Churches, Societies, and Missions doing heroic service in the face of great difficulties in countries that were formally Roman Catholic, but were in reality indifferent or hostile to all religion. The Society has for eighty years made grants that have been worth much more than their money value, for they have heartened the recipients with the comforting thought that, though they were few and weak, they were recognized by brethren of the robust Protestant Evangelical Churches of England as belonging to the same family of the faith.

In those far away forties sectarianism was much more narrow in its sympathies and short-sighted in its outlook than it is to-day. The various denominations were more or less the creation of historical conditions, and the idiosyncrasies of the founders were stamped upon them. People were brought up to believe that they were the monopolists of all Christian truth, even in their own country, and as to other countries, they were not interested enough in their religion to inquire what their religion was! If they travelled on the Continent they were plastered all over with labels—English, Protestant of the English type, Puritan, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist. They could never convince themselves that Churches with different national historic origins and traditions, and with different expressions of what was substantially the same Evangelical faith, were not at best "lesser tribes without the law." Then, of course, there was the difficulty of language and national prejudices, due to old national rivalries and memories of wars. And yet these

Continental Evangelical Churches were Churches of the Reformation—Lutheran or Calvinist—to the blended strains of which we owed our own Reformation. To the Calvinist Churches—the Huguenot Churches of France, and the Calvinist Churches of Switzerland and Holland in particular—we owed the Puritan ideal of the individual soul and of the spirituality of the Church, which created our Independent, Baptist, and Quaker Churches.

The Congregational founders of the Evangelical Continental Society, just because they were Congregationalists and believed in the continual leading of the Spirit, were able to recognize the essential sisterhood of the Continental Churches, and in a completely disinterested way they sought to help them where they most needed help. The Society had an interdenominational constitution that enabled it to add to its Committee men of any denomination. In practice, until two or three years ago, the Committee was mainly composed of Congregationalists, but to meet the often and urgently expressed wish of leaders of the European Evangelical Churches, it was enlarged on the broadest inter-Church lines; a powerfully representative Consultative Council was created, with the Dean of St. Paul's as President, and very distinguished leaders of various other Churches as members. The Society sought to become, and has largely succeeded in becoming, a liaison Committee between English Evangelicals of all the Churches and the leaders of the Continental Evangelical Churches. It co-operates with the Central European Bureau for Inter-Church Aid, of the Committee of which its Treasurer and Secretary are members, and through the Bureau, and with its own President, Dr. A. E. Garvie, in close touch with Continental Church leaders, it concerns itself with the Evangelical Churches of practically the whole of Europe. It continues, and seeks to increase, its grants to France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Czecho-Slovakia, and it believes that its wider range of operation, and the publicity it is giving to the work and the needs of the European Churches, will enable it to multiply and enlarge its grants. There are many most worthy agencies it desires to help, but it cannot do so until its very inadequate income is largely increased.

Old and very generous friends of the Society have passed away, and have found few successors. There are so many demands on Christian generosity, and so many Societies able to spend lavishly on appeals, that the too modest Evangelical Continental Society has been overshadowed, and has become almost forgotten by the denomination of its founders. In a very important respect, the Congregational Churches have an invaluable, unique position in regard to showing practical sympathy with the European Churches. They have no "axes" of their own "to grind" on the Continent. There are denominations with Colonial and Continental Societies or Continental

Committees that do great work in their way, but it is purely denominational work—providing services for their own people visiting the Continent, or disseminating their denominational views with the aim of creating native Churches of their denominations. It is natural that the historic Evangelical Churches of the Continent should dislike what they consider to be proselytism in the interest of denominations of alien origin. From any suspicion of this kind the Evangelical Continental Society is free, but the fact that its most active members are Congregationalists has, in effect, given the English Congregational Churches a warm place in the hearts of the Continental Church leaders. The defeat of Germany and the ending of the Dynasties meant the disestablishment of the various State Churches, which are now practically Free Churches, dependent for support on the liberality of their loyal members. These ex-State Churches have much to learn in the way of ordering their spiritual and financial affairs, and they are grateful for the advice which members of the Society have been able to give them.

The Roman Catholic Church, with its unified direction, has energetically exploited the post-war difficulties of the Continental Evangelical Churches. It is carrying on an intensive counter-Reformation campaign, and is meeting with considerable success, especially in Northern Germany. In Belgium the priests talk about "expelling the Protestant pest from Belgium." The abject surrender of the Anglo-Catholics to the demands of Rome in the Malines Conversations convinced the Romanists that England was abandoning Protestantism, and led to still sharper hostility to the small but heroic Evangelical Churches. In France the Churches of Huguenot and Lutheran origin are stemming the rising and rushing tide of a bitterly anti-religious Socialist paganism—the reaction from the Roman Church, which has never regained the hold on the people it lost before the Revolution. To meet the Roman counter-Reformation crusade a united Evangelical Protestantism is urgently needed. The Evangelical Continental Society wishes to do its part towards the cementing of that solidarity, and it asks Congregationalists to enable it to do larger work along this line.

The Society is asking Churches to become annual subscribers, as seven or eight churches already are, but if a Town Collector could be appointed, who could appeal not only to other Free Churches, but to members of the Church of England, it would gladly supply the Collector with literature of a very instructive and interesting kind. The Society's address is 20 Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C. 4, and the Secretary is Mr. Harry Jeffs, C.L.H.

R. Murray Hyslop.

DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS.

This Section of our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organization, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.

Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in one part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust that these pages will not only serve as a clearing-house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in Church and denominational life.

Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.

DOCTOR AND MINISTER.

Co-operation between doctors and ministers seems in a general way to be desirable. How far is it possible? How far is it necessary? These questions moved a group of people in Harrogate to arrange a joint discussion between the Harrogate Medical Society and the Harrogate Fraternal Clergy and Ministers on the subject, "Co-operation between Medicine and the Church."

There were present a surgeon, a throat specialist, a bacteriologist, and a number of general practitioners, Anglican clergy and Nonconformist ministers in all varieties. The differences in view were considerable, and there was healthy criticism on both sides. The "G. P.'s" were teased for running off too soon to the specialist and the working parson for being almost a Jack-of-all-trades. The doctors were taken to task for their narrow, cynical, materialistic outlook, and the ministers for their dress and collar and pose and voice. This element of the discussion found best expression in words quoted from Stephen Paget:—

> It is a great pity that the work of the doctor and cleric should ever clash. They are ordained for the mutual society, health, and comfort which the one ought to have of the other. Only, if they are to be friendly ministers of the sick and dying they must be friends always. The doctor should make less superficial jokes at the expense of the parson, and the cleric should dose his parishioners with less quack medicine: the doctors should be less dull to the wonders of faith, and the parson less dull to the wonders of natural law. Respectively they should have more grace to recognize, honour, and openly praise the good in the other's work. Then when they meet in the presence of sickness or impending death, they will have wasted less the opportunities of health and life.

It was in the spirit of these words that the discussion developed. The surgeon spoke of his work as that of a craftsman: and he wanted no interference any more than a plumber at his job. At the same time he recognized that a patient is something more than an ingenious

system of mechanical contrivances, that the mind is always an important factor, that body and soul have interactions which make the minister's work a valuable help even within the sphere of the surgeon. After all, a plumber can be encouraged to stick to his job until he has finished it, and, what is more, the material in which the surgeon works is also capable of being encouraged. Even the surgeon craftsman does not regard his material as being as inert as the lead pipes with which the plumber has to do, and, though he does not want any inexpert interference, he welcomes any lifting up of the mind of the patient. This view was expressed several times and in various ways, and, so far from the minister's help being resented, on the whole it was eagerly desired.

Several things of direct concern to ministers were said :—

1. They do not realize how much pleasure their visits give people. If they did they would go to see them oftener. The man who said this spoke out of a wide experience, though one must think it to have been a singularly happy one, for he went on to say that he had never come across a patient who was afraid of the parson.

2. Ministers do not make enough of their opportunities. When they are asked to see a patient, their visits are frequently spasmodic and perfunctory. It is worth asking if ministers show anything like the same zeal and concern, or even the same professional pride, in the visitation of sick people as most modern doctors.

3. Visitation is not always possible or advisable. There are some conditions when it is dangerous to the patient, some in which he does not want to see you. "A doctor wishes to prescribe a priest and the patient refuses treatment; what is to be done? ". That was a difficulty experienced by a doctor. On the other hand, the suggestion that the minister should have freer access to the sick and should even be called in by the doctor raises very delicate questions. It means that the minister has to be prepared to take the position described by one man as that of a very humble auxiliary. He may often feel that he is wasting his time, or that his opportunity is simply being kept away from him. Notwithstanding these things, most ministers know—and the encouraging thing is that the doctors freely acknowledge—that there are opportunities, which the minister on the watch may take, of real advantage and help to those who are in need and weakness.

4. When the minister gets to the patient the difficulties are not over. In the real sense they often only begin. What is he to do, *e.g.*, if he finds unusual disturbance, an emotional condition and great excitement? It may be a case for the medical man. If the latter is already in attendance it is clearly an instance where there should be co-operation. One very practical and interesting suggestion was made: " Doctors would assist co-operation more if they

would employ their chances of consulting with parsons in a more considered and considerate manner, *i.e.*, set aside time for discussion with the parson of the individual needs of a patient."

There are, however, occasions when the case is the other way round. It may be that no medical man has been called in and the mental condition of the patient may be such as to call for one. The trouble is that the minister does not always know what symptoms are significant and what to look out for. The suggestion that a handbook for ministers might be written by a doctor points to a possible field of co-operation. That it is needed is endorsed by the admission that it is difficult, even for the expert, to mark off normal from abnormal psychological signs. At the same time there are some abnormal conditions where the minister can render the greatest possible service. Specific instances were given. A sick man had to make a confession in order to have a chance of getting well. Hate was producing a psycho-neurosis. A man who had to undergo an operation could not take the anæsthetic. This was really a repressed complex: the fear which he did not admit to himself was producing physical effects upon him. Both these cases, the doctor thought, called for the minister's help.

Here is a field of co-operation to be explored more fully and mapped out more carefully and entered with knowledge and skill and prayer. Both doctor and minister will need to be in a general sense expert psychologists, and both will need to believe in man and God. The medical position was put in this way: "Doctors should be criticized for not acting more generally in accordance with the fact that religion is an essential human attribute to completeness of health —a view held by acknowledged psychological experts. The work of these latter also may fail until linked with their faith in the power of God." The minister's needs were as tersely stated. His visits are frequently spoiled "because of a lack of taste and a burlesque of other-worldliness." "Pulpit psychology should be intellectually sound." "Much unintelligent emotional appeal is at present made from pulpits which may lead to an excess of introspection and possibly even a psycho-neurosis."

5. There was real encouragement for the ministers in the doctors' attitude. After all it means a great deal to have a ready recognition that we are all concerned in the development of healthy, free, and independent personalities and of how important a part religion plays in this development. Most medical men find after a short experience in a practice that they have to do with sick souls as well as sick bodies. One man said that he had had this warning early in his training from one of his teachers: "When you get into private practice and patients come to consult you, you must look right down into their very souls."

It is one thing to see people's needs and another thing to satisfy

them, but it is significant that in a discussion of the kind I have been describing there should be a frank recognition of spiritual needs and the faith that can satisfy these. It takes us beyond peace and hope and a quiet mind regarded as medical effects of faith. It makes us realize again that though we approach the problem from different sides the ultimate solution is the same; the fullness of our life is in God.

H. H. SUMMERS.

THE LAWYER AS A CHURCH HELPER.

WE all now know that there is a true church wherever one hand meets another hand helpfully. May we invite the lawyer to lend a hand? It would appear to an ordinary reader as if a lawyer was called for in *Isaiah* 42 18–23. It pleased the Lord to magnify the law and make it honourable, but the people were robbed and spoiled and snared and hid in prison, and none helped them. Even the Lord's servants and messengers were placid and deaf and blind; the injustice and trouble did not impress them; they said nothing and heard nothing and marked nothing until the voice rang out, "Who is there among you that will give ear to this?". According to the plain man's reading of this remarkable passage, a lawyer should have stepped out from the religious people and said: "I am a member of the honourable profession of the law. I will help these poor people to obtain justice; this work is in my line." Such a man has always been wanted among Christian communities. In the Epistles reference is made to a beloved physician and a beloved minister, but no lawyer is mentioned with such affection, except perhaps Zenas. Christian lawyers there have always been, but not many who gave their services freely for the poor and friendless and troubled.

There were dreadful times in England after the closing of the Monasteries: their vast lands were given to the nobles: farmers were got rid of by fraud or force or tired out with repeated wrongs, and "men, women, orphans, widows, parents with little children, emigrated from their native fields to London to wander homelessly to beg or steal or to be thrown into prison as vagabonds." Then some of the great preachers became the poor man's lawyers. Nicholas Ridley, the glorious Bishop of London, claimed that he was the poor man's lawyer, and he seems to have been the first of that name. In 1552 he said:—

> I am an Advocate by office and duty in the poor man's cause. These silly souls have been neglected throughout all England and especially in London and Westminster. They are Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery.

As such poor man's lawyer he wrote that wonderful lawyer's letter to Edward VI setting out the pitiable condition of the London poor,

which led promptly to the setting up of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for the sick, Bridewell for those needing work, and Christ's Hospital for poor children.

Canon Barnett once said:—

> In the richest country of the world the great mass of our countrymen live without the knowledge, the character, and the fullness of life, which together make the best gift of this age.

The lawyer's generous and scholarly profession should help to supply this gift by patient individual attention to poor folk who complain of injustice and oppression. In 1888 at Toynbee Hall was started The Tenants' Defence Committee. Mrs. Barnett, in her life of the Canon, says:—

> In our early East London days we often troubled our lawyer friends with cases, but there was the difficulty of making city appointments, so it seemed best to bring the lawyer to the people. Thus was begun unpretentiously and intermittently the plan of the Poor Man's Lawyer, which Mansfield House has brought so efficiently before the world.

This generous reference to the work at Canning Town, started by the Rev. F. W. Newland when that district was indeed "outcast London," reminds one that just about 40 years ago Mr. Newland announced that at Mansfield House, Canning Town, a young barrister and a solicitor had arranged to attend once a week to give counsel to poor people. The barrister I do not know, but I think the solicitor was Mr. Blott, who continued on his work (with others) until his death in October, 1912, and for years was secretary of The Poor Man's Lawyers' Association. The plan has been followed until now there are about twenty centres of such lawyers in London. There is also "The Society of our Lady of Good Counsel."

When the Rev. F. W. Newland started The Claremont Mission at Pentonville in 1902 by the aid of the London Congregational Union, amongst other beneficent and humanizing work that he "grew" was that of The Poor Man's Lawyer. Mr. Harold B. Shepheard was "first in," and remained there for nearly ten years, attending regularly each week. I (a solicitor's clerk, but not in his employ) acted as his assistant, and remained to assist his various successors another fifteen years. Another member of his family gave his services at Whitefields.

I cannot describe the kind of work done better than by quoting (by permission) from an article I wrote for the *Home Messenger* in 1912:—

> Kindly take a seat in my room one evening whilst the clients are interviewed. The man who hobbles in on crutches, with his foot bound up, quickly discloses a workmen's compensation case. When did the accident happen? How? The nature of the injury? Any medical certificate? Nature of employment, wages, full name, address, and description of employer. All these questions answered, I proceed straightway to give formal notice of his claim under "the Act."

Next, an old lady. She, like the patriarchs, has sons and daughters. The sons do not help; a married daughter helps a little. The only daughter at home is a good girl, and practically keeps her. She would like a will made, giving this daughter the furniture and the funeral money. The will is drawn at once and executed, and the testatrix goes off with it, delighted at having set her house in order.

A maid-of-all-work comes next. She has left her place after giving proper notice, but cannot get her box or her wages. A very firm and careful demand is at once prepared and despatched.

A troubled father and mother are now seated at the table. Their little girl, on her way home from school, has been knocked down by a motor, and is now in the hospital. They have got most of the particulars of the accident, including names and addresses, from the policeman. I write to the owner of the car, telling him plainly that he will be held liable for any damage, and inviting him to break his silence and, in any case, see that all is done that can be done for the child's recovery.

An old man now enters, producing a well-thumbed bundle of correspondence. He talks a great deal, but meanwhile I am looking through his papers. " I see that you have already been to four firms of solicitors? ". " Yes, but they all turned out to be cheats and rogues." " I see you paid them nothing, not even for the search fees they paid for you." " Yes, but—— ". " Yours is not a case for the poor man's lawyer, my friend. Good evening ! ".

And so right on, dealing with family disputes, hasty words, dismissals without notice, money lent and now wanted, work done and not paid for, suretyship—that fool's paradise—landlord and tenant, master and workman, mistress and servant, the lodger, the bailiff, the notice to quit—not one yet produced that complies with the latest High Court decision—the dreadful state of the house or the rooms, "and yet I've nowhere to go with my children if I leave."

Advertisements for heirs or next-of-kin, or concerning unclaimed funds, cause the spending of much money on next-of-kin agents. The disheartened applicants always come to us after, and not before, they have parted with their money. That there are unclaimed funds is quite clear, and there should be more facilities for acquiring information. Banks have to be communicated with about some small deposit, and their requirements complied with as far as possible. Insurance companies must have their "indemnities" and what not before they will hand policy moneys over to some poor widow, suddenly discovering that some little informality prevents them paying the money at all, unless they are "fully protected." Partnership ventures, in barrow-loads of vegetables or fish, have to be adjusted.

The sheepish-looking man who tells you that he has to appear tomorrow afternoon, at two o'clock, before the magistrate for abusing his neighbours, and wants to know what he is to do, is put through a course of gentle speech and modest deportment—told not to answer back or argue, but to say : " I'm sorry." It's wonderful how well this reduces the fine and mollifies the magistrate, and the man is the better for the sharp experience.

The bewildering forms and requisitions issued from borough councils, rating authorities, and even Somerset House, are explained and filled up. Wills, leases, agreements, are brought along, and carefully explained and advised upon for the very poor.

Every effort is made to show people how to do their own legal work, such as issue county court summonses, search at Somerset House, make personal applications for probate, etc., in small cases. It is remarkable how difficulties which appear insuperable to poor people can be overcome by careful explanation.

The poor have their terrible matrimonial difficulties, as do the wealthy and leisured classes, but whilst a wealthy woman gets release, the poor woman frequently only gets magisterial lectures. She certainly cannot get a divorce. It is no exaggeration to say that her vain appeals for complete release from a wicked husband end frequently in her being done to death. Stipendiary magistrates and county court judges should have greater powers for the protection of husband and wife, and for their relief. If justice is done to them, the proper care of the children generally follows.

The shocking "bumble" tone adopted by some magistrates, and copied by their ushers and doorkeepers, should be dropped. Few men or women would brave an application to a magistrate if there was not a good reason for it, and the smart and bullying remarks which they frequently receive only add bitterness to a wounded spirit. The destruction of the poor is their poverty.

A retired solicitor or barrister could not spend his leisure better than in fairly stating in court the cases of poor people. The wealthy profession of the law need not complain; every Act of Parliament seems to bring grist to their mill. Let its members more freely and cheerfully help to make the law acceptable. The poor man's lawyer's work would be strangely lightened if the law of "nuisance" was fearlessly applied to the disgusting and unnecessary public-houses and beershops planted so thickly in the streets of the humble and patient classes. Imagine the remarkable change for good—at least, so far as the women and children are concerned—if liquor shops were compelled to have a Justice of the Peace, with his wife and family, living on each side. We should then read of applications for an injunction to restrain a nuisance, similar to injunctions concerning deprivation of light and air. But I must admit this is not practical politics.

At Claremont Hall, Pentonville, where I assist the poor man's lawyer, no charge whatever is made for any service rendered, but we do not take cases into court. If action becomes necessary, clients are advised to select a solicitor of their own choice; we then pass our correspondence and papers over to him. We try, at all costs, to avoid litigation, to bring parties together, to "make good of bad and friends of foes"; and if we were at all sentimental, which, being lawyers, we are not, we should frequently wind up our long evening's work by saying—

Oh, speed the moment on,
When wrong shall cease,
And liberty and love
And truth and right
Throughout the earth be known,
As in their home above.

That was in 1912.

After this, in 1914, came into force the Law Courts Rules for providing poor suitors in the High Court with legal assistance and freedom from payment of High Court fees, and some 500 solicitors and 300 counsel intimated their willingness to act on behalf of poor

litigants in the High Court. Then came the war, the Moratorium, the Rent Acts, War Pensions, Insurance troubles, official letters and forms, the rush to the Divorce Courts, and general perplexity. Queues of people attended the few remaining lawyers with forms, declarations, rent notices, insurance queries, matrimonial problems, letters from soldiers and sailors, and soldiers' and sailors' wills, while there were new queries concerning workmen's compensation, industrial insurance, *etc.* Mothers and widows came to unburden their sorrowful hearts; the house and lodger problem became acute, and there was deplorable hardship for many widows with children. At that time the work of the Poor Man's Lawyer was chiefly to point out how defective and illegal were most of the rent notices served on poor people, and to show the recipients how to contest them. The Poor Man's lawyer became a national need.

In 1925 the procedure was set up by which Poor Persons' Committees (now 100) were established all over England and Wales and now poor persons' cases can be initiated either in London or at 89 District Registries of the High Court.

Matrimonial cases may now be commenced on behalf of poor persons either in London at the Divorce Registry, Somerset House, or in one of 24 District Registries, and all such cases are tried by High Court Judges on Circuit at Assize Towns or in London. The whole system is administered through the Law Society, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2, and the Provincial Law Societies. Solicitors and counsel freely give their services, and no court fees are charged. Out-of-pocket expenses have to be paid.

In 1927, 1042 poor persons' cases were heard at the High Court of Justice in London and 671 at the Assize Courts in the country. The names of 598 solicitors and 195 counsel were then on the list prepared by the London Committee of those willing to give their services gratuitously in such cases. Provincial committees usually procure legal assistance as required, no lists being kept. It will be seen therefore that lawyers themselves and the Government appreciate that poor people have rights and claims which they should be assisted to have dealt with by the calm arbitrament of law. Undoubtedly judges and magistrates are kinder now to the poor, and the Court of Criminal Appeal is a temple of mercy and fair-play. But much remains to be done, for the poor still suffer injustice. The County Court and Magistrates' Courts are really the poor man's courts, but the poor get no special help there. In the County Court alone for the year 1927 over one million proceedings were commenced, of which 50,000 were connected with housing. The present suggestion is that the lawyer or experienced lawyer's clerk to be found in many Christian congregations should give one evening a week to listen patiently to the stories of the discontented poor and show them how legally to obtain remedy, if any. Forms need to be filled up carefully, and

information about them given; the Rent Act notices and procedure are real facts and worries to thousands of poor people. A lawyer can straighten out many of their difficulties. Insurance is a terrible big subject and the Industrial Insurance Companies need to be firmly dealt with in the interests of poor persons. Poor women—mothers, wives, lodgers, tenants, legatees—form the bulk of the clients and their worries and difficulties can be in many cases lessened and simplified by a kindly lawyer. Many political organizations have now poor men's lawyers in attendance. Let the places of worship also show that they have a person named Help who will do his best to draw poor people out of the Slough of Despond and set them on firm ground, and direct them carefully and exactly to the various legal societies and committees that are set up to deal more effectually with the actual legal proceedings. This will be a great help to ministers and deaconesses and to the general work of the Church.

CHARLES JOHNSON.

THE RELIGIOUS NEEDS OF YOUTH.

Dr. Horton is reported to have said that "after pondering the subject for many years he was convinced that the best thing the churches can do to retain their hold on the youth of to-day is to give religious teaching regularly to all their young people. This must not be done spasmodically and scrappily, but must be systematic and cover the ground completely." He went on to instance Dr. Dale and Dr. Macfadyen as excellent examples of teachers of youth, and praised their system of catechumen classes. "Why should not a similar plan become an established tradition in all our churches? ", he asked.

The first thing to be said in answer to that question is that a larger number of ministers than ever take such classes as Dr. Horton suggests. The catechumen class is becoming "an established tradition" in numerous churches. Perhaps the preparation is not as thorough as that given to the "convert" by the Roman Catholic priest, though on the whole it is as sound and comprehensive for our purpose as the instruction usually given before Confirmation by the Anglican clergyman. There are still many churches whose preparatory work could probably be improved. Such teaching work throughout the denomination would help efficiency and general success.

There is, however, a growing conviction that the catechumen class —that is, preparation for church membership—is not enough. The church which stops there, it is submitted, is not doing its duty to its young membership. The " systematic " religious education Dr. Horton advocates, " the complete covering of the ground," must be continued AFTER the young person has joined the church. One hears

the phrase, " Secondary religious instruction " applied to this and kindred efforts. I heard it first a dozen years ago; I saw it first attempted as a regular part of the Church's work, and specifically for young Church members, over thirteen years ago. The idea is that one of the first duties and privileges of discipleship, as is clearly evidenced in the New Testament, is to learn. Whilst no one who has drunk deeply of the Congregationalist spirit will over-stress " book-learning " as a primary desideratum of the spiritual life, yet we know that sound religious knowledge at the roots of faith makes that faith stronger and more fruitful. It is an intelligent membership we want; one which knows the intellectual bases of religion; a membership so systematically instructed that it will be able to speak, as Roman Catholics are said to do, " with certainty and conviction."

This membership will result, not from eight or ten lessons in preparation for joining the Church, but from a period of study covering four or five years after Church membership has begun.

In the Report of the Commission on Church Membership submitted to the Worcester Council, the Commission sought to encourage all Congregational churches to make these two methods of instruction " an established tradition." Unfortunately the Council, which is a very human body, took up a certain " hue and cry " and did not even notice these momentous recommendations, which are fundamental to our needs. I may be permitted to give the substance of the Commission's recommendations. First, it " recommends that preparation classes for boys and girls . . . should be held regularly with the purpose of enrolling them as junior members on profession of loyalty to Jesus Christ." That is Dr. Horton's point. A second recommendation was " that young members (*a*) shall be under promise to worship regularly, and (*b*) shall be under tuition and guidance in some circle of the church." That is the system which an increasing number of churches have adopted. The recommendations are briefly stated: it is necessary to linger and reflect over them before their revolutionary contents can be clearly apprehended. Work them out and profound changes will come over Congregationalism. Those recommendations practically acknowledge that Anglicans and Roman Catholics have been right all the time in their attitude to young people respecting Church membership. Most certainly modern psychology supports them all along the line. And the fact that a body like the Congregational Council missed all this simply shows that the changes necessary before revival comes must tarry for a while. A class system for young members should be an integral part of our Church order, as solid an element in the structure as the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Springing out of this subject is the question of Confirmation. From some quarters there comes a request for an equivalent in Congregationalism to Confirmation in the Anglican Church. It is neces-

sary that we see clearly what it is we want. The idea that by the laying on of hands there is bestowal of special grace can find no place with us. If we seek " decency and order " along with a searching and an abiding influence in the reception of young members, that ought not to be beyond our sanctified wisdom to arrange. What is known as " The Graded Church " system, which works out the two-fold recommendation of the Church Commission, allows for this. Under it the reception of young members is a real Confirmation service : I see no reason, if it is thought to add to the impressiveness and permanent values of such a service, why the Moderator should not attend and address young people before their actual reception by the minister. I see no reason why such services should not be held on a week-evening—as in the Church of England—with a large attendance of adult members. Perhaps such departures would draw fresh and quickening attention to the importance of joining the Church. Certainly into this question of young life and Church membership we need to put more thought, more preparation, more continuous teaching, and more devotion. Let old ways go if they have exhausted their usefulness. Our Lord is not tied to the past; why should the Church live in fetters? We can have a new Church in ten years, a glorious Church full of young, vigorous, intelligent disciples of Jesus Christ; only there must be plan, system, education, shepherding, fidelity. Spasms and scraps are no good.

L. Beaumont.

ON LIFE AND BOOKS.

"LETTERS TO A VICTORIAN EDITOR."

I HAVE been reading a very interesting selection of letters written to Henry Allon by many correspondents during his long life as a Congregational minister and editor. It strikes me as a brilliant idea, with many untried possibilities in it, to print the letters a man receives rather than those he writes; and after going through these letters to Dr. Allon, which Dr. Peel has published under the title *Letters to a Victorian Editor* (*Independent Press,* 12s. 6d.), I am greatly tempted to say something about them. They contain many flashlights of character in the writers themselves, and cleverly enough they bring out into the daylight one of the most charming of Victorian Nonconformist ministers.

The name of Henry Allon, of Union Chapel, Islington, still survives amongst us, and with more than ordinary freshness. Like Bruce, of Huddersfield, Henry Allon had but one church. He began as assistant minister at Islington in 1844, became sole pastor of the church in 1852, and died as its minister in 1892. He was therefore content, like the Shunamite woman, to dwell among his own people. He never caught the modern itch of restlessness. Looking back to Victorian Congregationalism we see there were fixed stars in its sky, whereas now we are nearly all of us become wandering planets, with an occasional comet rushing past the sun. The times are changed; yes, but is that all? Or is it that we ourselves have grown "shorter of wind . . . and rheumatic of shoulder"? But besides being a Congregational minister, Allon was also an editor. For twenty years he edited the *British Quarterly Review;* at first along with Dr. Reynolds, of Cheshunt, and from 1874 to 1886 as sole editor. The *British Quarterly* was founded by Robert Vaughan, and it gained a position of influence far beyond the borders of our own churches. It was recognized generally as the exponent of the Nonconformist view. Matthew Arnold speaks somewhere of Dr. Dale as giving a very fine exhibition of Nonconformist pugilism in his Chapel down in Birmingham. Well, that is exactly what the *British Quarterly* knew how to do; but it had also an extremely wide range of culture and scholarship. It may have been heavy, and from the long rows of its volumes, bound in Russian leather, which I once glanced at I think it was heavy, and that it died in 1886 largely of its own weight, as Edward Baines, of the old *Leeds Mercury,* virtually says in a letter of his which Dr. Peel prints; I think it died of this quite as much as of the political split in Nonconformity over Home Rule. But the *British Quarterly* was certainly not what Arnold, in one of his pet phrases, called "Philistine"; or, if Allon and his circle, as we see them in these letters, really are Philistine, my soul be with them in their cities of Gath and Askelon rather than with the children of "sweetness and light."

The picture of Victorian Nonconformity contained in these letters is a very pleasant one; impressionist, perhaps, rather than firmly drawn; but as you see Allon's life and its interests as his correspondents knew them there emerges the outline of a generous and versatile religious community. Allon's correspondents include churchmen of every rank, men of letters, politicians and statesmen; an historian like E. A. Freeman, whose letters make the longest series in the book, as Humphry Sandwith's, dealing

chiefly with the Near Eastern question in the late 'seventies, are politically the most interesting. Close together are Gladstone and Bright, and Chamberlain and Asquith; quite an array of Deans, including Alford, and Stanley, and Fremantle of Ripon; good old Tom Binney just retired, and R. W. Dale, and Spurgeon concerned about the wild theology of the Leicester Conference, and warning Allon against too much Mayoral hospitality—" I was never at a Mansion House banquet but once, and four days after I had the small-pox "; and then John Henry Newman, astonished to find himself writing to a heretic Independent; and, in the middle of it all, Matthew Arnold, urbane and elegant as ever, explaining that it isn't Nonconformists personally that he objects to, but their principles. Here is Mr. Mudie, about to found his library, and afraid to have too many " strong dissenters " in the first list of shareholders; a page or two farther on R. H. Hutton, of *Spectator* fame, is declaring in 1871 that the English Church is going to pieces; J. R. Seeley is trying hard to hide his anonymity as author of *Ecce Homo*; and Samuel Cox, kicked out of the editorial chair of the *Expositor,* because the publishers would have none of Robertson Smith, or of any who share " his loose views of Inspiration," and a certain " Mr. Nicol, of Glasgow," brought in to fill his place; and about this " Mr. Nicol of Glasgow," whose name people will spell the wrong way, Cox seems to have heard nothing very good. What a human hurly-burly it is, and how little the world changes after all!

Pretty nearly every question which was then up finds some place in these letters; the changing theology, liberal politics and the heinousness of " Dizzy," the new science, disestablishment enough to delight the heart of Dr. Henson, and enough about reunion to drive the *Church Times* mad.

Taken, then, in its full round, the life these Victorian Nonconformists lived, as we find it reflected in these letters, was not the narrow, embittered sectarianism which bishops and comfortable deans seemed to see of olden time through their cathedral windows, and dream about in broken sleep on winter nights; but it was a cultivated and vigorous life in touch with affairs and learning, given to hospitality and good works, and dignified and strong through a manly self-dependence. The power and influence of the Independent minister of that day was beyond question, and we see in Allon only one instance on a prominent scale of what was true in many a large town and often in country places, that however much the *Church* might affect to despise Dissent, there was a genuine Dissenting interest everywhere to be reckoned with, and its ministers mattered. How far that is true now, and how far present-day Nonconformity is in touch, as Allon was, and as Dale and Mackennal certainly were, with the springs of English life and thought, and with every movement towards public well-being, in other words whether Nonconformity is telling on the national life as it did then; these are questions which need an answer, and there are perhaps reasons which should give us pause. But the thing that will strike the reader of Dr. Peel's book is that these Victorians were definitely and unashamedly Nonconformist, and they never forgot the rock out of which they were hewn. Not even when they came to discuss reunion. Allon desired, as all these men did, a spirit of unity and of understanding as between the Church of England and the Nonconformists. There are letters printed here on both sides which breathe the pure Christian spirit, and as near a comprehending of difficulties as anything that has been said since, with all the talk of Lambeth conferences; and yet one feels that such an absurdity as re-ordination could never then have been either suggested by the one party, or looked at by the other. I remember hearing Mackennal say once that he would not go as far as the garden gate to get his Orders

ecognized. That was the position of these men, and it is the sound position o take.

But I am getting rather away from Dr. Peel's book, though it is likely nough that anyone reading it will find all sorts of questions starting in is mind. For instance, we have to-day, in the University sense, a much etter trained ministry on the average than in Victorian days. We shall ll have double degrees soon! And yet it may be asked, with some ground or hesitation, whether our intellectual interests are as varied and as natured as in such a mind as is revealed here; whether, to put the thing uite plainly, with all our "swatting" for examinations we are getting he deeper culture; not in the effeminate sense, but in the broad under-tanding of culture as a ripe knowledge of whatever is human, and a orresponding sympathy with all human things. What sort of a letter vriting, I wonder, goes on now, and what are the intellectual limits within vhich the average ministry actually moves? I confess to feeling ashamed f myself when I see the wide mental horizon under which Allon lived, nd it makes me want to try again. For we are never likely to influence nen much merely by picking up a few new phrases and ideas, but only s we have been often to the sources of the rivers of knowledge and truth, nd have become at home on the heights where they rise. This selection f letters will have done us a real service if it makes us think again about ome of these things.

I have left myself but little space to refer to Dr. Peel's own work in electing and editing these letters. The work has been sympathetically nd thoroughly done; and, if he will let me say so, I can trace throughout he skill of "the old parliamentary hand." The plan of the book is clear. he arrangement of the letters under such headings as political, literary, eligious and ecclesiastical, is much preferable to a strictly chronological rder; and the introductory chapter on Allon's life and work supplies the istorical thread on which the letters are strung. Dr. Peel has annotated he letters where necessary, so that the immediate context of a letter, or of ome point in it, is never left obscure, and in many places there are useful ross references. There is also at the end an index, which is a most ecessary and valuable addition to such a book. Here then is a book to be rateful for, and to enjoy.

A. T. S. James.

FOREIGN REVIEWS.

The Decline of the West: Perspectives of World History. By OSWALD SPENGLER. Authorized translation by CHAS. FRANCIS ATKINSON. Vol. II. Allen & Unwin. 21s.

IT is two years since the review of the first volume of this colossal work appeared in the *Congregational Quarterly*,[1] and a few words of recapitulation are therefore desirable.

Two theories of the rise of the historic civilizations are just now fighting for precedence in the world of anthropology. The one, represented by the school of Prof. Elliot Smith, and recently expounded with pungency by Mr. W. H. Massingham in his interesting collection of essays, *The Heritage of Man,* is the "theory of diffusion," which may be described as a working hypothesis which interprets the origin, growth, vicissitudes and general movements of civilization by cultural contacts between peoples, usually through the impingement of a higher culture upon a lower. The diffusionists claim that the first experiment in civilization took place in Egypt, from which centre cultural influences spread far and wide through the ancient world, appearing under various guises in widely separated lands, and among diverse races of mankind, preserving a broad continuity of movement on the whole, down to modern times. The second school affirms, on the other hand, that each historic civilization sprang up spontaneously under the inspiration of a single cultural idea or principle, passed everywhere through a series of identical phases (which can be clearly traced in parallel), lasted a certain definite time (about twelve to fourteen centuries), and then died down through exhaustion, giving place to another culture, which resulted in a civilization of an entirely different character. Sometimes these highly differentiated civilizations were contemporary, sometimes they were successive; in both cases they had nothing to do with one another, and affected each other, except by way of disturbance or conflict, only in the slightest degree, when and if their paths crossed.

Spengler is the high priest of the second of these contending theories, and in this enormous work he brings the enthusiasm of a discoverer, the passion of a propagandist, and the learning of a German *savant* to bear on the exposition of his thesis. The book was almost ready for publication just before the war, which delayed its appearance for two or three years, during which it was re-written and expanded. When it was finally given to the world, it created an immediate *furore* in Germany, passing through many reprintings (about 90,000 copies were circulated—a fact unique in the history of a work of such a technical character) and meeting with a storm of criticism from many quarters. By this time it is the theme of a massive literature, critical or commendatory, and is still a bone of contention among German anthropologists. The author has been found out in many inaccuracies in his historical references—a fact which has in no way discouraged him. In the edition from which this very readable translation has been made, he has corrected and revised his original treatment, but he has in no essential particular modified his position, which he reasserts with complete confidence and elaborate reiteration.

In the first volume, *Form and Actuality,* the fundamental principle of the theory was elaborated and illustrated in superabundant detail from the history of the great civilizations of the past and present; and in the second, *Perspectives of World History,* he puts the whole picture into final form

[1] Vol. V, 478 ff.

with a special exposition of one ancient civilization—the Magian—which has been totally neglected by previous theorists, though it is here claimed to be one of the most important of them all. I will limit myself to a brief exposition of this part of the volume, because it is of considerable interest on its theological side.

The Magian, "Arabian," or Apocalyptic civilization, which has expressed itself in several sub-forms, never realized itself in history with any purity, owing to being subject to what Spengler calls *metamorphosis*, by which he means

> "cases in which an older civilization lies so massively over the land that a young culture, born in this land, cannot get its breath, and fails not only to achieve pure and specific expression-forms, but even to develop fully its own self-consciousness. All that wells up from the depths of the young soul is cast in old moulds, young feelings stiffen in senile works, and instead of rearing itself up in its own creative power, it can only hate the distant power with a hate that grows monstrous." (II. 189).

The Egyptian, Classical, and Faustian or West-European cultures of modern times, freely realized themselves in institutional forms without coercive disturbance from external forces; the Magian failed to do so because at its birth it was obstructed by the dying spirit of the Babylonian, and at its period of formative energy was unable to assert itself against the pressure of the classical culture, then in its mid-career round the seaboard of the Mediterranean sea and in a less intense form Eastwards. It was only in the deserts of Arabia, and in the Syrian, Palestinian, and other lands of the Near East that the Magian culture had some freedom to expand, finding its nearest approach to purity in the Islamic nations, among whom it still lingers on in a stiff and belated form.

Every culture is the embodiment of a creative spiritual idea or world-view which dominates the inner soul of the peoples inspired by it and thence, outwards, their attitude towards the whole universe of reality. The Egyptian faced existence from the point of view that Life is an inevitable movement towards Death and a Beyond of judgment; the Apollonian (Greek) thinker was dominated by the idea of space as a flat (Euclidean) surface, and time as a series of detached moments; the Magian regards history as a *movement from a Divine creative act to an inevitable world catastrophe in which the Divine will is consummated in judgment and renewal.* The Magian is thus an apocalypticist, pure and simple, and is the father of the many forms of apocalyptic faith in ancient times, including the Jewish and Christian. It is common knowledge that our own faith was born in a markedly apocalyptic setting. It is one of Spengler's constant complaints that while the Magian world-view has been thus organically related to our religion, it has never been properly and scientifically studied by historians, secular or religious, as has the Classical, and even the Egyptian, but has been treated as a phenomenon irrelevant to the main stream of our Western historical developments; in his opinion, it has, on the contrary, profoundly affected these developments. Whether Spengler's main theory be true or false, I cannot but feel that here he has touched on a profoundly true issue, which must be taken account of more radically in all future historical and theological study.

For instance. The Magian culture is the only purely landless, unlocalized creed which expresses itself not in a secular civilization, but in *a fellowship or community of co-believers,* and is thus properly capable of spreading, not by extension of territory but by propaganda and conversion to certain religious beliefs, rites, customs, and conduct; and so may be domiciled anywhere. The synagogue, the church, the mosque, the

cathedral, the wayside chapel, are thus the natural rallying-points of Magian culture, and these can be built in any land, and under the most diverse conditions of civilized or even savage environment. Whether Christianity is in essentials a Magian faith or not, it has in this point a distinctively Magian heredity, and this is its most characteristic feature as a missionary religion. In this particular Congregationalism, with its central emphasis on the principle of spiritual fellowship as the essential, creative, social expression of religion, is the purest modern embodiment of the Magian form of culture. Jesus founded a fellowship of believers, and He founded nothing else.

This, however, is but the form and not the essence of Magianism, and for a rich and thorough exposition of its inner spirit and its distinctive world-view, we must refer the reader to the remarkable chapter on "The Magian Soul," which is the finest in the book.

The only other question we can here touch upon is the fact that we live in an entirely different world-view, and how far it is possible to express the ultimate realities of the Christian faith, born as it was in a purely Magian world-view, in terms of our own Faustian type of culture. The Magian idea of life was that it is a procession through a limited period of time from creation to destiny through a series of divinely predetermined eras beyond the control of human power. The Faustian or Western culture is based on the conception of infinity in space and time, and of the free human will realizing itself *from within*, and endeavouring to do this by the control of this vast environment in the development and interests of human personality. Spengler, who believes that Jesus was a pure Apocalypticist after the manner of Schweitzer (but from a deeper point of view), appears to believe that this is fundamentally impossible, and that we have been following a will o' the wisp in trying to do so. In this we hold that he is profoundly mistaken. It is true that to avoid this impasse we have to transvaluate the apocalyptic ideas of the Gospel into Faustian terms; but that this is not fundamentally impossible is surely evident from the fact that the conviction is spreading throughout the cultural world outside as well as within the Christian Church that the key to our most stubborn modern problems is in the hands of Him Who spoke the Sermon on the Mount and the parables of service and destiny, and Who achieved victory over sin and death by His own death and resurrection. Also, the meaning and value of human personality—the key-word of our Faustian culture—was first unfolded by Jesus in the splendour of His teaching, and in the richness of His own personality. It was only re-discovered for thought by the philosophers of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and in practice by the awakening of personality in all its depth and breadth by the saving touch of His grace in all lands, and under all cultural conditions among many races of mankind. According to Spengler, our present civilization is in its penultimate stage of unfolding, and will have run its course in a couple of centuries, becoming at last one with those of Nineveh and Tyre. In this he may conceivably be right or wrong, but we venture to think that under any future culture and civilization the creative spiritual forces let loose into the world in Nazareth and on Calvary will take their place at its heart, and prove as potent and renewing as in the periods of Magian, Greek, and Faustian culture in the past; and that Shelley's lines are true :—

> The Moon of Mahomet
> Arose, and it shall set,
> While blazoned as on Heaven's eternal noon,
> The Cross leads generations on.

E. Griffith-Jones.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

" Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."—FRANCIS BACON.

" A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."—JOHN MILTON.

(*The place of publication is London, and the date* 1929 *unless otherwise stated.*)

A History of the British People. Epilogue: Vol. I, 1895-1905. By ELIE HALEVY. Benn. 25s.

Professor Halévy has interrupted the study of British history in the nineteenth century, which he started about twenty years ago, in order to publish immediately his account of the twenty years between 1895 and 1914, which he calls the epilogue of the nineteenth century. The first volume of his Epilogue is now before us: it is on the whole well translated.

Professor Halévy once more leaves us marvelling at his insight into English life and character. Not least is this so in his estimation of the part played by religion and by the Free Churches in particular, for the Frenchman is often prone to neglect or minimize the influence of religion, while it is the rarest thing to find a foreigner able to understand the Free Churches at all. As an example of the penetrating nature of M. Halévy's work we quote the following :—

> When the faith of the laity decays, yet leaves behind it among large numbers what we may call the need of faith, it is natural that the more sacerdotal varieties of religion should prosper to the detriment of those in which the layman plays a larger part, and which, to use Luther's formula, invite each of their adherents to regard himself as a priest. It was, therefore, natural that the Church of England should gain ground at the expense of the sects, and that, within the Anglican Church, the High Church party should prevail over the Evangelicals, who had hitherto been the dominant party in a Church which had caught the infection of Wesleyan enthusiasm.

While on the whole the book is a valuable survey it is not without its faults. First may be mentioned a considerable number of minor mistakes —misspelling of names, wrong initials, and the like. Here M. Halévy has not been well served by his proof readers, nor has the maker of the index done very well for him. Then there are some striking omissions. There is, for example, no mention of Asquith's speeches in reply to Chamberlain's Tariff Reform campaign, and no mention of the disclosures of the Commission of investigation into the conduct of the South African War. The proportion, too, at times, strikes us as faulty: witness the large space given to the fiscal problem, and the cursory mention of licensing. And M. Halévy does sometimes fail to understand British mentality and does sometimes heighten the colours. One example may be given (italics ours) :—

> The English Dissenters *had been ordered by their leaders* to refuse payment of the Education Rate . . . A refusal to pay *became the regular procedure* . . . But he sometimes preferred to allow his goods to be distrained and *sold by auction in the street* until a sufficient sum had been obtained to discharge the rate.

These blemishes, however, only stand out because the general lay-out of the picture is so pleasing.

EDITOR.

Jeremiah. By A. C. Welch, D.D. Oxford Press. 7s. 6d.

Professor Welch has embodied the general results, set forth in his *The Code of Deuteronomy* some years ago, in this volume of 255 pp., which treats of the whole life of the greatest of the Hebrew prophets. He has also made careful use of the Gadd tablet and the Elephantiné-Assouan letters. It is, of course, impossible to study the problem, literary, religious, and historical, posed for us by the existence of *Deut.*, without being led on to a burning interest in Jeremiah. Is it merely a coincidence that the three best English books on this prophet, namely, Skinner's *Prophecy and Religion,* G. A. Smith's *Jeremiah,* and the present volume, are all by Presbyterian scholars? Hardly. There is something in the sturdy belief in discipline and in the definitely puritan iconoclasm of the *Deut.* reformers and of Jeremiah himself, combined with that positive experience which blossoms so unexpectedly and sweetly like rock-flowers in the cracks of the granite, which is very much akin to the faith of Calvin and of Knox, and the tradition of the Scottish Reformation.

Many have expressed themselves as unconvinced by the argument of Prof. Welch's book on *Deut.* But the value of the present work does not depend on acceptance of those results. The crude critical orthodoxy which tends to regard the reform of 621 as a firm and permanent advance needs, in any case, considerable qualification. "The Josianic reform," says Welch here, "was revealing its inevitable implications. By making the temple the one centre of worship, and its sacrifices the one covenanted means of approach to their God, men had made Yahweh a local deity."

The strong sense of predestination in Jeremiah (so typical of the best Judaism, as with Paul) is well brought out. Thus, in opposition to Volz, the oracle of the figs is interpreted, correctly, we are certain, as referring to "the fate Yahweh had assigned to these two sections of Judaism, not . . . their moral condition." (p. 161). We have always the impression that Prof. Welch bases himself in the actual facts of the historical situation, and that such a knowledge of the whole period as can only be gained by a critical and intensive study of *Deut.* is an extraordinarily effective preparation for the proper understanding of the greatest individual of that period. The firmness of the faith behind this beautiful book is well illustrated by the following (p. 156): "And so a penknife, though Jehoiakim wielded it, could not undo what God was bringing on Judah . . . not even undo the scroll which a prophet had written. He merely took fresh parchment and re-wrote it, adding a little more." In our opinion this is a piece of work which very definitely supplies something essential not to be found in the other two studies mentioned above, namely, an objective and almost exhaustive consideration of all the historical and archæological data; and it reveals also religious insight and tradition of matchless value and depth.

J. P. Naish.

The Holy Kabbalah. By A. E. Waite. Williams & Norgate. 30s. net.

> Rosicrucian subtleties, In the Orient had rise;
> Seek ye Bombast Paracelsus, Read what Flood the Seeker tells us,
> Of the Dominant that runs, Through the Cycles of the Suns.

That all sounds like nonsense. I've been trying to nail it down for many years. And I've got most of it now. Mr. Waite has had it all for a long time, for he wrote *The History of the Rosicrucians* years ago. He knows what "Della Cruscan" means, too, "something to do with *bran* and *mills*" as the immortal Beetle told Mr. King (and was strangely correct). The theosophical mystic cults of the Middle Ages form a weird

ngle of thought. Yet so great a star of the Florentine Academy as arsilio Ficino used to change the gems on his fingers regularly to accord th the dominant planets. Nicholas Culpeper, too, mixed his Puritanism th astrology, and Henry More was an enthusiastic Kabbalist. The abbalah was the alternative for pious Jews in the Middle Ages to the ristotelian rationalism of Maimonides. And there was later a Christian abbalah as well—the whole strange and fantastic beyond comprehension most of us in the twentieth century. Mr. Waite wants to date the *ohar*—which is the " Bible " of the Kabbalah movement—very much rlier than the date usually given, the 13th century. No doubt the ements of this kind of thought *are* very old, but it is difficult to believe e book itself earlier than the period following the publication of the *Moreh ebuchim,* to which the whole of cabalistic doctrine as we know it is in me sort a counterblast. The curious thing is that Mr. Waite is not him-lf an expert Hebraist. But then, as a very well-known Jewish rabbinist id to me, you really have to know some Hebrew to read the *Zohar* in the riginal, and it isn't necessary to do that in order to know a lot about the abbalah. It is curious stuff but it has held hundreds of thousands of inds in thrall in its time, and neither theosophy nor astrology is dead yet!

J. P. NAISH.

he Lord of Life. A Fresh Approach to the Incarnation. By Dr. H. T. ANDREWS, Professor J. VERNON BARTLET, Rev. F. C. BRYAN, Dr. A. T. CADOUX, Rev. G. E. DARLASTON, Professor D. MIALL EDWARDS, Rev. H. H. FARMER, Rev. JOHN LEWIS, Rev. MALCOLM SPENCER. S.C.M. 10s.

The joint authors of this composite book have themselves explained in Preface its purpose and method with most admirable clarity and concise-ess :

" This book follows a definite and deliberate line of approach to its ubject. It is through man to Christ, through human experience, with its truggle and failure in the art of life, to Him who, above all others, has riumphed both in His own person and by His sway over other lives. . . nd so, through a fresh contemplation of Christ as Lord of Life, we find fresh approach to the Incarnation.

" Our approach is thus experiential rather than speculative; so also as been the method by which we have come to the view that is here set orth. These chapters are not the independent contributions of individual riters. They are the product of thought and experience shared and ompared."

It may be said at once that the book as a whole reaches a high level. Every article in it will repay reading, and some deserve close and careful tudy. Undoubtedly the chapters which stand out above all others are the hree by Dr. Bartlet entitled, " The Meaning and Task of Christology," The Earlier Christologies," and " The Later Christologies." They re much more than merely historical—they are genuinely constructive. These chapters together constitute Part III of the book, which bears the ub-title " Christ in Theology." They are preceded by Part I, " The Human Problem," containing chapters by Mr. Lewis and Mr. Darlaston n " Reality in Religion " and " Man's Need of a Deliverer "; and by art II, " Christ in the New Testament," with " The Historic Jesus " y Dr. Cadoux and " The Christ of Apostolic Experience " by Dr. Andrews. Part IV, " Christ to-day," contains " A Christology in Modern Terms " by Dr. Miall Edwards, " Christ in Present Experience " y Mr. Bryan, " Christ's Right to our Worship " by Mr. Farmer, and The Church's Witness to her Lord " by Mr. Spencer.

A very considerable variety of subjects is thus ranged over, some of a more theoretical and some of a more practical character. But the book will inevitably be judged by its specifically Christological sections. There appears to be some tenderness for the formula of Chalcedon in the chapter by Mr. Lewis, and for the cosmical Christology of Paul in *Colossians* in that by Dr. Andrews, who says of it : " It is the intellectual miracle of the Apostolic Age." But the Christology of Dr. Bartlet, equally with that of Dr. Miall Edwards, quite definitely emphasizes the human personality of our Lord, and opposes any attempt to revive the notion of a Divine personality in Him united to an impersonal human nature. Both these writers are definitely on the side of Schleiermacher in regarding Jesus Christ as the Unique Man, who is the perfect organ of the God-consciousness, and in accepting the necessary modifications of traditional doctrine which flow from such a view.

The Lord of Life, accordingly, stands in marked contrast with two other notable books of this year, the *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation,* edited by Canon Rawlinson, and the Rev. L. S. Thornton's great Christological treatise, *The Incarnate Lord.* Nothing could more conduce to clear thinking on Christology than that at least the two volumes of Essays should be read over against one another : it is a matter of regret that one cannot name a work with a similar tendency to that of *The Lord of Life* and of the same proportions as *The Incarnate Lord,* which might be read along with the latter. There is eminent need of such a book, equally exhaustive and thorough, if only people would buy it when it was written !

The paper printed in this same issue entitled " The Fullness of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," will show where the sympathies of the present writer are on the momentous question just raised. There is no problem in Christian theology of greater importance.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

The Interpretation of Religion. By JOHN BAILLIE, M.A., D.Litt. Clark. 14s.

This is an excellent book, well worth reading by every student of theology, though its rather excessive length may frighten off some of those who would most profit by it. Historical review and reconstructive statement are well balanced ; the field is systematically mapped out ; the path is clearly traced towards the goal of the journey in the Christian revelation. The book might, in fact, be classed as a modern handbook of introduction to theology, only that it is more elaborate and more interesting than such a classification is apt to suggest.

Theology as the science of religion is to be marked off from the other sciences as the analytic and systematic presentation of religious belief, and is not simply applied philosophy. The science of religion must be based on the study of religion as a whole, and the Christian religion must stand by the evidence of its ultimate universality and inclusiveness. The proper method of theology is ascertained by a criticism and rejection of the speculative or rationalistic method on the one hand, and of the purely psychological and historical on the other. Religion must be studied from within, and judged by its own content ; its norms are intrinsic.

After these prolegomena (which seem to be drawn out to a greater extent than was necessary), we proceed to the analysis of religious faith. Faith is not the creation of subjective desires, nor the survival of tradition. It is not to be derived from nature, but is rather an assurance with which we face the facts of nature, and it is not the discovery of new facts, but of a new meaning in facts known to us all. The essential nature of faith is

wrongly interpreted by the intellectualist theories (Hegel) and by the romanticist (Schleiermacher) and the intuitionalist (Troeltsch), for "religion is a moral trust in reality" (p. 318). The development of this view is traced from Kant, through Lotze, Ritschl, and Herrmann, though (as against the Ritschlian emphasis) the enquiry is to include religious faith in its totality, and not simply the Christian. Faith implies more than the conservation of values; it demands the continuity and identity of reality with them, not of substance, but of purpose or end (p. 327). The moral values demand a cosmic setting, to which faith gives a deeper significance. Absolute obligation must derive from the Absolute (p. 350). "The fundamental truth of religion will never be endangered until somebody succeeds in presenting us with a consistent theory of morals which does full justice to the deepest things in our knowledge of good and evil without in any way relating them to a reality beyond ourselves" (p. 352). But "to the very end the facts of life remain capable, from a strictly theoretical point of view, of two opposite interpretations" (p. 379).

On this basis the argument that morality implies divine personality, with the attributes of both transcendence and immanence, follows familiar lines. The best classification of religions is into tribal, national, and universal or international types, because this does most justice to the inner test of harmony with the central principle of religion—the development of the racial *mores*. The Christian religion stands supreme by its higher *ethos*, *e.g.*, the emphasis of Jesus on the care and forgiveness of God, the values of the family life. Finally, the idea of revelation is interpreted as the activity of God, corresponding to man's discoveries.

The strength of the book lies in the freshness and vigour with which the moral argument is presented, rather than in any particular novelty in the conclusions. The author is cognizant of all the important recent work in this field, and his statements and criticisms of great thinkers are very carefully made, whilst his own comments are often stimulating and suggestive. We may agree with him on the primacy of the moral argument, even if we think that his treatment of the rational and aesthetic sides of human personality leaves something to be desired. Do we, for example, do justice to the artist's appreciation of beauty when we say of it, as well as of our appreciation of the natural world, that "its contribution to religion is to provide it not with argument but with sacrament"? The attempt to bring morality and religion into closest possible relation leads the author to a somewhat biased view of the historical development; it is by no means clear, for example, that the history of religion in Israel shows religion always treading on the heels of morality. But the book as a whole should be a very valuable one to the student, and is well worth close and careful reading by all who have an interest in its subject.

H. Wheeler Robinson.

The Real, the Rational and the Alogical. By E. Belfort Bax. Richards Press. 8s. 6d.

The Intelligible World: Metaphysics and Value. By Wilbur Marshall Urban. Allen & Unwin. 16s.

The Idea of Value. By John Laird. Cambridge Press. 18s.

Moral Law and the Highest Good. By E. Morris Miller. 1928. Macmillan and Melbourne Univ. Press. 6s. 6d.

Mr. Belfort Bax has had a long career of literary and speculative activity. More than forty years ago (Sir) George Adam Smith reviewed his *Religion of Socialism* and *Ethics of Socialism,* and found it necessary to deprecate the author's eagerness to repress religious orthodoxies with all the force of the Socialist State. The present volume dates from 1920. According to the flyleaf, it has been " reprinted " in 1929; but the preface makes it plain that the new issue includes substantial alterations and additions. The author takes sides strongly with Berkeley and with Hegel —so, one believes, he would put it—as an idealist, but not less strongly criticizes what he calls the " Pallogism " of Hegel, of (he says) T. H. Green, and (in measure) of Bradley and Bosanquet. He protests (p. 10) against not being credited by Prof. Baldwin with the invention of the useful term " alogical." Will, it seems, is alogical; evil is alogical; pleasure and pain are alogical—the conception seems fluid and mobile. Apparently Mr. Bax's philosophy still discovers less than no reason for belief in a personal God or in personal immortality.

Twenty years ago an earlier contribution to the "Library of Philosophy" by Prof. Urban dealt with " Valuation " as " An introduction to the general theory of Value." That discussion was embedded and enmeshed in psychology. Yet, if the author regarded a psychological discussion as the best introduction to the subject, he was already enlisted in the service of constructive metaphysics. There may be a change in emphasis, but there appears to be no substantial change in opinion when in the present volume the great tradition of the past—notably in Plato and Aristotle, in Leibniz and Hegel—is vindicated against what is vehemently denounced under the title of " modernism." Philosophy, it is granted, is bound to say old things in a new fashion. The promising new fashion of philosophizing to-day is the systematic study of value. All thinking is a matter of communication between one mind and another; and the very nerve of real thinking is evaluation according to some recognized objective scale. If we could not praise and blame, the heart of science as well as of friendship would be broken. " Reason, properly understood, is the system of values " though *why* (the higher) value should be essentially three-fold—truth *plus* beauty *plus* goodness—it is as yet impossible for philosophy to explain. Professor Urban is extremely well read and is always readable. Very emphatically, too, he is upon the side of the angels. Perhaps his standard of demonstrative cogency is not pitched extremely high. What he offers us is appealing and suggestive rather than downright conclusive. If one understands him rightly, Prof. Urban is the inventor of the useful term " axiological."

Prof. Laird also is concerned to show the connexion of recent discussions concerning value with the great standard assertions and findings of philosophy. The masters of ancient thought are before his own mind; and the great masters of modern thought from Descartes and Spinoza downwards—with the remarkable but almost entire exception of Hegel—are pretty fully summarized from time to time. He builds his argument round the three traditional conceptions of useful or Economic values (*Bonum Utile*; the economists are deliberately awarded much attention), desire or Pleasure values (*Bonum Jucundum*; here Meinong and Ehrenfels perecive special notice) and ideal—mainly moral—values (*Bonum Honestum;* the terminology is from Geulincx; see p. 272). At the end of the discussion, three rival theories of the essence of value have emerged—not quite the same three; the Elective, the Appreciative, and the " Timological"; one might roughly paraphrase as the Physical, the Psychical, and the Ideal. The first, the doctrine of " Natural Election," is the most

ingular. We are told that it is " inspired " by Montaigne, but the terminology appears to be an original coinage. Wherever there is physical affinity, there is something analogous to value as between the two bodies or substances. One conjectures that here the Realist philosopher is characteristically at work; perhaps he is safeguarding objectivity. Others might consider the parallel shadowy and forced. Do we ever really discover natural law in the spiritual world, or spiritual law in the natural world? Prof. Laird is still realistically loyal to facts when he enters the region of right and wrong. He tells us that he is less surprised by divergencies in the moral judgments of men than impressed by their far-reaching underlying agreements. If Torquemada and Spinoza took opposite views on toleration, they may not have been thinking of the same thing. Doubtless, when good men err, they have good or at least plausible *motives* for going wrong. But, if disagreement is to be conjured out of existence, can affirmations and agreements retain their significance? We shall be back at the sceptical tag of Nominalism, *Duo cum idem dicunt non est idem;* and the task of the philosopher will seem little better than weaving ropes of sand. Professor Laird's final conclusion, on p. 322, is that probably " 'value' is an ambiguous term which includes both elective and appreciative prizings and timological insight "; that it is " improbable that prizing should be confined to psychical appreciation." Apparently the psychological or appreciative theory means all too little to Prof. Laird. And in the study of Timology (or *Bonum Homestum*), one might have desired a closer examination of the contrast between philosophies of the Absolute and those philosophies which not merely recognize the higher values as distinct existences but love them. Nevertheless, if we do not get everything we could have hoped from this book, we ought to learn much from its wide knowledge, its great ingenuity, its subtle criticisms, its keen and tireless intellectual curiosity.

Dr. Morris Miller's careful and elaborately documented little volume —a credit to the Melbourne printers—is, it seems, the third study of Kant's philosophy which the Professor of Philosophy in the University of Tasmania has published. The general attitude of the book will receive wide approval; Kant's dualism is to be deprecated, but his ethic is of great value. In detail, Prof. Morris carries vindication of Kant to great lengths. Even the thesis that the soul of man must make itself virtuous and so merit moral reward seems to pass without challenge. For Kant, and for thorough-going Kantians, the grace of God seems to strike in later —if at all. Can that possibly be true?

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

Mysteries of the Soul. By RICHARD MULLER FREIENFELS. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.

This is an excellent translation by Mr. Bernard Miall of a book which has had a considerable vogue in Germany and is certainly not without interest for English and American readers. It is a study, partly metaphysical and partly psychological, of the higher nature of man and its reactions to the life of the modern world. The book contains six long chapters or sections: the first metaphysical, entitled " The Infinity of the Soul "; the second psychological, entitled " The Individual and his Destiny "; the third is called "A Journey into the Past," and consists of an intimate revelation of the author's childhood and youth; the fourth, " The Dramaturgy of Life," is a chapter on social psychology; the fifth, "The Americanization of the Soul," deals with the psychology of modern

civilization; and the sixth and last discusses "The Religion of the Future." Dr. Freienfels writes both as a philosopher and a shrewd scientific observer of human life under modern conditions. His criticisms of modern materialism in its innumerable forms are as just as they are searching, and the same has to be said of his treatment of modern religion. He makes very clear the need of some new and deeper orientation of life than any that has been discovered hitherto. If humanity is to be uplifted, and if life is to be lived in the future on the level of the soul rather than of the body, a very real revival of religion will be necessary. The problem, he argues, is one "not of science, but of action; a question not of knowledge, but of power. It would be decided if one should come who would give the new religion a form and structure, and preach it in such a fashion that the deaf could hear and the blind see. But its coming is less a matter of preaching than a question of a new form of life. Words alone will never suffice; religion must be experienced and lived. But it is likely that there will be not one religion, but many, and it is possible that we have not to wait their coming, that they have been and are already in our midst, but that we shall not perceive the meaning and the final direction of their influence until the movement in which they have been working assumes a definite form."

W. B. Selbie.

The Psychology of Philosophers. By Alexander Herzberg. Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d.

The author is concerned with two main questions, *viz.*, What sort of persons become philosophers, and Why do particular philosophers develop their particular brand of philosophy? Psychology, he tells us, cannot yet explain why one man is interested in mathematics or astronomy and another in music or painting, but he thinks it is possible to show why a man becomes interested in philosophy, and this in turn leads to the explanation of the kind of philosophy adopted in any one instance. He is not of those crude scientists who pronounce this human interest useless. On the contrary, he concludes that philosophic thinking fulfils a highly important function, because of its psycho-hygienic value and consequent biological utility in the preservation of the individual. Philosophers, it must be understood, suffer from tremendous inhibitions, which make them incapable of living tolerable lives in the ordinary world of reality. They escape into the comfortable and fantastic world of thought in lieu of committing suicide or qualifying for an asylum. In thus acting, the great original thinkers are not merely serving their own interests; they are doing a service to humanity, by creating a huge reservoir of mental power and health for the host of lesser philosophers whose thinking is not original. We wonder if Dr. Herzberg has reflected whether in publishing his book he has been either quite kind to the philosophers or quite fair to the overburdened asylums. For the poor philosophers fondly imagine they are seeking after, and in a measure apprehending, the truth; but when the idealist discovers on p. 215, and the materialist on p. 217, what he is really doing, will they not lose heart? And then what about the reservoirs?

However serious this book may be for the philosopher, it must be admitted it is highly diverting for the general reader. The philosophers provide most of the fun, but the author's own psychological analysis, though frequently acute, is sometimes delightfully ludicrous. We are told, *e.g.*, that "the impulse to play chess is to be explained as a combative impulse which, diverted from its original methods and aims by the inhibitive action of fear, has sought expression in this analogous activity."

We feel now we have a deeper understanding of the motives of our friends who incontinently devote their afternoon to the timorous game of Rugby football and their evening to pawns and rooks and a pipe of tobacco.

Mr. Wareing has produced a most readable translation. We hope, however, that in a second edition readers will not be under the necessity of striving to visualize " a phenomena " (p. 215).

E. R. Micklem.

Primitive Beliefs in The North-East of Scotland. By J. M. McPherson, B.D. Longmans. 12s. 6d.

This is a careful and well-documented study of primitive beliefs and practices during the last three centuries in the area named. Mr. McPherson sets out his material clearly and objectively, with just sufficient comment to enable the general reader to appreciate something of the historical significance of the facts recorded and of their intimate connexion with primitive beliefs and customs the world over. The result is a most valuable and interesting record.

If anyone wishes to understand the Old Testament account of the struggle the higher religion of Jehovah had to supersede the local Canaanite religion and to see the true import of, *e.g.,* the Deuteronomic legislation against the " high places," he could hardly do better than read Mr. McPherson's account of the parallel struggle which has gone on in these very islands during the last three hundred years. He may be surprised to learn how thin the veneer of Christianity has been in the country districts. Even as late as about 1850 a farmer near Elgin kindled the " needfire " and sacrificed an ox in order to avert a murrain which had decimated his herd. After a perusal of this book the reader will scarcely doubt that this was not a case of strange atavism, but only a late manifestation of a nature religion which, with whatever modifications, had yet survived uninterruptedly. Many, indeed, are the weird tales the author has to tell, and they are none the less fascinating for being told with the restraint of a serious investigator.

E. R. Micklem.

The Christian Task in India. Edited by John McKenzie, M.A. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

This is a very welcome book. But it is impossible in a brief review to give any adequate account of the chapters written by its fifteen contributors. That it is edited by the Principal of Wilson College, Bombay, with the assistance of Dr. Macnicol, the Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, is a sufficient guarantee of its competency and value. It gives an admirably balanced account of the present situation in India, and of the demands thus made upon the Christian Church. It deserves a very wide sale. We wish we could believe that it will get it. But books on India seem only to become " best sellers " if, like *The Christ of the Indian Road,* they contain encouragement alone, or if, like *Mother India,* they present only the darker aspects of Indian life. This book is entirely free from facile optimism, and from complacent censoriousness. It faithfully records the sad facts of Indian life: the utter poverty and illiteracy of vast masses of the people, the evils of child marriage, for, despite the critics of Miss Mayo's book, there are still millions of child-wives in India. And the intimate relation of much of the economic distress of India to its religious beliefs is clearly shown. And yet the splendour of India's quest for God is fully recognized, and the writers, whether they be of the East

or the West, speak not as the representatives of a Christian imperialism but as those who are fully conscious how little Christendom is Christian. Of the contribution made by the Christian Church to the education of the high castes and the social uplift of the depressed classes we have here a clear and authoritative account, and a particularly interesting chapter deals with the work of Medical Missions.

The greatness of the Christian task in India has led to a close association in co-operative work, and of this a brief account is given in Mr. Paton's chapter on "Co-operation." And the movement towards unity has not stopped with co-operation. Already Presbyterians and Congregationalists have become truly one. The last chapter of the book is a strong plea by Dr. Palmer, the Bishop of Bombay, for corporate union between Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches. We should have found this chapter more convincing if we had not remembered as we read it an article of his quoted in *The Review of the Churches* (Oct., 1926) in which he speaks of ministers not episcopally ordained as if they were schismatics who would receive God's full grace only when "they return into one body in love." In this chapter Dr. Palmer pleads attractively for a Church which should combine Episcopacy with the ideas of Church government represented by Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. Whether such corporate union is as yet possible or not between those who differ much in their views of the operations of God's grace, this book is a witness to the unity of spirit which is already found in India. Dr. Palmer aptly quotes the words of that great Indian Christian of an earlier generation, Nehemiah Goreh: "The difference between a Hindu who worships a cow and an Indian Christian who has ceased to do so is so great that any theological differences there may be between Indian Christians make no impression upon us."

This is a book which we have read with great interest and would warmly recommend to all our readers.

SYDNEY CAVE.

SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST.

*(Books marked * are recommended for ministerial reading.)*

We have had occasion previously to commend Canon A. W. F. Blunt's volumes in the "Clarendon Bible," and his **St. Mark* (Oxford Press, 4s. 6d.) has the same clearness and competence as his *Acts* and *Galatians*. All the volumes so far published in this series have reached a very high level. By the same author is a little book, *The Prophets of Israel* (Oxford Press, 2s. 6d.), which is designed both to help teachers and also for the general reader.

We strongly recommend all Sunday School teachers to purchase the Rev. G. H. Scherer's *The Eastern Colour of the Bible* (N.S.S.U., 2s. 6d.). They will find it is packed with information that will be extremely useful to them in lesson preparation.

Presumably there must be a market for books like *Palestine in Picture* (Heffer, 10s. 6d.)—and certainly Christian people will be glad to turn these 220 pages filled with views excellently produced. Canon C. E. Raven writes an introduction (one of his initials has gone astray on page xii). The main criticism of the book lies in the fact that the pictures do not carry their description with them—we are obliged to turn to a loose "Index of Plates" at the end of the volume.

Dr. W. R. Maltby's *The Significance of Jesus* (S.C.M., 3s. and 2s.) contains four lectures delivered in Toronto. They are marked by that freshness of outlook and genial humour which those who know Dr. Maltby will look for.

Mr. Harold Shepheard's **Middle Class Christians* (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.) is at once charming and challenging, sensitive and searching. Its nine papers go to the root of things, and its insistence on the way of Jesus in its simplicity as the Heavenly Way is not less convincing for being outlined in pleasing colours. When the Church of Christ is organized on right lines and composed of small groups of Christian people, men like Mr. Shepheard will be among its " voluntary clergy," for they have a deeper message than some, at any rate, of the preachers of to-day. Meanwhile we are left with this disquieting picture of our middle class selves :

> This middle-class self, the man of the world, we know well, not least in ourselves. He seems to have no concerns. If they speak to him of the love of God and man, he thinks it sentiment. If they talk of international peace, he is not interested. He is strong on national defence; has he not a stake in the country? but foreigners have no real existence for him. When a great strike forces itself upon his attention he carries on with a placid assurance that the country is sound at heart and that, if only these agitators would allow us a period of peace and quiet, all will be well. But he has no sense of the causes of unrest; so soon as the trouble is past he forgets the miners and returns to his occupations. What interests him is his own life; the success of his business; the prospect of a rise in salary or of a bonus; competition with the shop across the way; buying cheap and selling dear; keeping down overhead charges; working the smallest staff at the highest pressure, forgetting that they too have private lives and health and aspirations after happiness. He thinks a good deal about his home and the prospects of his family: he tells his sons that they will begin on the rung of the social ladder where he left off. He keeps up his position. He feels pleased as he contemplates his comfortable rooms and garden, the rewards of his industry, his car and his wife's rings; the esteem in which he is held in the city and the club and even in his Church. It does not enter his mind that there is any reason why he should not happily enjoy what he has made. He is a good fellow, without coarse vices, decent-living; with home, and business, and golf, he goes on unawakened to death. He, that other self of ours, has not the mind of Jesus; no sense of heaven first, nor of spiritual values. He is blind, and content in his blindness. Only catastrophe can wake him for a moment to look at life; and, when it is over, he sinks back into the old lethargy.

All those who have listened to Principal R. L. Franks, either in his own class-room or in theological conferences, will open **The Metaphysical Justification of Religion* (University of London Press, 3s. 6d.) in the confident expectation of finding a treatment of the subject both thorough and suggestive. They will not be disappointed, for the three lectures the little book contains make a distinct contribution to theology. They are called " The Necessity of a Metaphysic of Religion," " Outlines of a Metaphysic of Religion," and " Confirmation and Development of the Metaphysic." Dr. Franks calls to his aid many scholars, including little-known ones like Wiesse and Volkelt, and he leads the way to " a *central* point of view, where the construction of the Values is appreciated most truly. That central point of view is given by religion, which constitutes such an experience of the Holy, as enables the reflecting mind to see how it unifies the True, the Good, and the Beautiful." The superfluous comma after " Holy " is a typical mannerism ; we have noticed a dozen pages where a comma like this interrupts the sense.

With Dr. Franks's book should be read Prof. C. C. J. Webb's "Riddell Lectures," *Religion and the Thought of To-day* (Oxford Press, 2s. 6d.), which deal with "The Study of Religion," "The debt of Modern Philosophy to the Christian Religion," and "The problem of Religion in contemporary thought."

Principal Franks also contributes to an important survey of *Dogma in History and Thought* (Nisbet, 8s. 6d.), the other contributors, Prof. W. R. Matthews, Dr. Bicknell, Bishop Gore, the Rev. Richard Hanson, Prof. Jenkins, and Prof. Relton all being on the staff of King's College, London. Dr. Matthews discusses "The Nature and the Basis of Dogma," and then follow studies of dogma in the New Testament, the Early Church, Medieval Scholasticism, and Protestant Scholasticism (Dr. Franks). Prof. Jenkins next deals informingly with "The Decline of Dogma and the Anti-dogmatic Movement," and Dr. Relton valiantly attempts the desperate task of describing "The Reconstruction of Dogma" in 40 pages.

What has Christianity done? What differences has it made? It is common to hear nowadays that after 2,000 years the world is no better for Christianity. The answer to such a contention is to be found in Dr. David Eldridge's *Christianity's Contributions to Civilization* (Williams & Norgate, 12s. 6d.), an admirable compendium, which, in a rapid survey of the centuries, tells of Christianity's conquests from the time of the Roman Empire to the present.

In *Seekers and Saints* (S.P.C.K., 6s.) the Rev. W. J. Ferrar has gathered together from various periodicals papers which he calls "studies of religious experience." He admits frankly that they are disconnected, as will be gathered when it is said that they range from Cleanthes to A.E.; but read one by one they are well-informed and useful.

With experience both in village and in town, the late Dr. A. J. Wilson became convinced that unless the Church of England establishes a non-class Church and a non-class clergy she will never meet the urgent need of the day. His *Highways and Hedges, Streets and Lanes* (Williams & Norgate, 3s. 6d.) urges this policy with an abundance of illustration from his pastoral experience.

The publishers have not done much to make the addresses in Dr. Stanley Alfred Mellor's *Liberation* (Constable, 10s.) look as interesting as they are: had a third of the addresses been left out, and better type been used, it would, we think, have been in the book's interests. And some could well have been omitted, for to judge by this book, the eloquent Unitarian preacher was remarkably unequal. On the whole, however, the volume represents Unitarian preaching almost at its best—and its strength and weakness are alike conspicuous. There is the passion for liberty and truth, and the joy of the quest: but there is little appeal to the heart—and we wonder what the common people who heard Jesus gladly would make of sermons like these. An educated audience they would interest, and more than interest, maybe even stimulate to further thought and even to social service: but the labourer and the maidservant would, we fear, go empty away. Nevertheless we have not too many teachers of Stanley Mellor's stamp—and his early death was a loss to more than Liverpool and Unitarianism.

No one writes to-day with more force and clarity than the Bishop of Durham, and **Disestablishment* (Macmillan, 4s. 6d.) effectively defines his attitude to the great question now before the Anglican Church. The Introduction is an apologia, in which the Bishop shows how he has been finally converted to Disestablishment by the action of the House of Commons

on the Prayer Book. Then follows the 1928 Visitation Charge on: (1) " The Inherent Spiritual Authority of the Church of England," focused round Establishment and Discipline, and (2) Parochial Ministry. The latter section of the book is extremely valuable. In it the Bishop comments on the answers to his searching Visitation Inquiries, and has some very pertinent things to say about " the cure of souls." All students of religion in England to-day ought to read this book.

The Rev. Cuthbert Cooper's *The Church and Publicity* (Williams & Norgate, 5s.) deserves the attention of ministers and church executives, for there is a long way to go before organized religion makes effective use of the poster and the post, the church magazine and the tract, the lantern and the film, the wireless and the electric sign.

It is not often that we find in one man the combination of gifts possessed by the Rev. E. W. Smith. Since he became Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society Mr. Smith has given abundant evidence of wide knowledge, keen insight, and an admirable literary style. Of his *The Shrine of a People's Soul* we have spoken elsewhere. The same qualities appear in *The Secret of the African* (S.C.M., 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.), seven lectures in which Mr. Smith's missionary experience continually provides apt illustrations of his theme.

All who read the biography of Dr. Aggrey will know how much education on the Gold Coast owes to the united efforts of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the late Governor, and the Rev. A. G. Fraser, the Principal of the College at Achimota. The names of these two appear on the title page of *The Future of the Negro* (S.C.M., 4s. 6d. and 3s. 6d.). Sir Gordon is responsible for an informing sketch of the position of the negro in the United States, and for a section dealing with the education of the African people: Mr. Fraser's experience is seen to advantage in the pages devoted to the practical problems of West African education.

We do not know why the writers of *East Africa in Transition* (S.C.M., 1s.) have hidden their names. They certainly need not be ashamed of this little book, an examination of the Report of the Hilton Young Commission. This Report will have far-reaching results, and anything that brings its findings to wider notice is to be welcomed.

In *Christian Progress in Burma* (World Dominion Press, 2s. 6d.) the Rev. Alexander McLeish has had the assistance of many who have worked in the country. The volume has the statistics, *etc.*, common to the series in which it finds a place. The number of indigenous Christians is 1 in 49 of the population; there are 47 Protestant residential mission stations; 972 Protestant schools with 40,539 scholars; 5 hospitals; 351 foreign and 3,538 native workers.

The publication of Mr. Frank Smith's *The Betrayal of Bramwell Booth* (Jarrolds, 5s.) cannot, we think, do the Salvation Army or the memory of the late General any good. It is a bitter and *ex parte* account of the " revolt," the tone of which can be gathered from the sub-title: " A defence of General Bramwell Booth against the unwarrantable and un-Christian attack made upon him by the ' High Council ' of the Salvation Army."

Mr. E. B. Powley's *Vicisti, Galilæe* (Kegan Paul, 2s. 6d.) is one of the most disappointing volumes in the " To-day and To-morrow " series. It is a survey of religion in England, and a forecast of its future, but its reading of history is as arbitrary as its general outlook is prejudiced. Mr. Powley is confident that " dogma will die." Dogmatism certainly will not while he lives: he has everything settled: "Rome will not die in a day or

a century. Die she will. Education will kill her "; "Protestant Nonconformity will, on the whole, like non-Anglo-Catholic Anglicanism, fail in vigour, and for exactly the same reason."

In the same series Mr. Dyneley Hussey's *Eurydice* is also disappointing —the case against opera is put so much more cogently than that for it. Indeed, Mr. Hussey seems conscious throughout that to defend opera is almost impossible; at any rate, he is to us entirely unconvincing.

Modern Languages at Oxford, 1724-1929 (Oxford Press, 7s. 6d.) shows the two sides of Sir Charles Firth in action. On one hand, we have one of the soundest historical scholars of our day describing the development of the study of modern languages in Oxford from George I's time to the present; on the other, we have the sturdy controversialist laying about him lustily, his blows falling heavily on the supporters of the scheme for extending the Ashmolean at the expense of the Taylorian.

Mr. H. Hale Bellot's *University College, London, 1826-1926* (University of London Press, 25s.) is by no means a book to take away for holiday reading, first because it almost fills a trunk, and second, because it is the reverse of light reading—Mr. Bellot rightly calls it an index of materials for history rather than history itself. As such a compilation of materials it is immensely valuable, while the detailed statistical charts enable one to see the growth of various branches of the College at once. Mr. Bellot's account of the founding of the College and of the difficult early years will be very serviceable to historians, while the pages describing the many picturesque personalities the College has had on its staff from time to time are full of interest. It ought to be said that Mr. Bellot has done extremely well a piece of work in which he was to have assisted Sir Rickman J. Godlee: the bibliography, index, and other accessories are exemplary.

Mr. Richard Hill's *Toryism and the People, 1832-1846* (Constable, 10s. 6d.) is, we imagine, a University thesis. What were the points of contact between Toryism and the working classes between the Reform Bill and the fall of Peel in 1846? Mr. Hill sets out to discover them, and shows the attitude of the Tory Party to all kinds of working-class organizations, to the poor law, *etc., etc.*

It may safely be assumed that very few readers of this journal have read the works of Herbert Thorndike. They are recommended to procure and read Canon T. A. Lacey's volume in the " English Theologians " series, **Herbert Thorndike, 1598-1672* (S.P.C.K., 6s.), which is an admirable summary of the writings of the seventeenth century Anglo-Catholic. We do not expect twentieth century readers to wade through Thorndike's prolix tomes—his style is heavy and cumbrous, and a single work contains nearly 1,000 folio pages. But nearly all his writings concern controversies that trouble the Church of Christ to-day—the relation of Church and State, the nature of the primitive form of Church government, the best way of re-uniting Christendom. Canon Lacey writes well and fairly—present day controversialists would do well to follow his example. We have made a special note of his judicial summary on p. 14 in regard to sequestrations during the Commonwealth: we hope the *Church Times* will have this page framed and hung over the editor's desk.

Someone called a well-known novel of the early years of this century " the prolonged squeezing of a dirty sponge." Much of this Byron business strikes us as being precisely similar. Is anything to be gained by probing into the precise relationship between Byron and Augusta, or by conjecturing what happened in private interviews between Augusta and Lady Byron?

Based on unpublished papers in the possession of the late Ralph, Earl of Lovelace, Miss Ethel Colburn Mayne's *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron* (Constable, 21s.) is a sympathetic and scholarly account of Lady Byron's life. Annabella's life was " spring and winter," and the spring was short indeed. Not the least interesting of Miss Mayne's pages are those which tell of Lady Byron's friendships with Robertson of Brighton and George MacDonald. We do not know how Miss Mayne substantiates the claim that William Frend " established the first of all Sunday-schools at Madingley, near Cambridge."

Despite an exasperating style Mr. A. Stanton Whitfield's *Mrs. Gaskell: Her Life and Work* (Routledge, 7s. 6d.) held our interest, though its criticism does not strike us as particularly shrewd. The bibliography is full and useful.

The reading of many books dulls the emotional while it sharpens the critical faculty, and it is only rarely that one is really moved by the reading of a book. Miss C. E. Padwick's **Temple Gairdner of Cairo* (S.P.C.K., 7s. 6d.) has been an exception, for the story of this consecrated life has produced in us not merely admiration and thanksgiving, but also a profound sense of humiliation. W. H. Temple Gairdner was born into a goodly heritage, and was endowed with many gifts. In an Oxford which contained F. E. Smith, John Simon, and Hilaire Belloc, he was said to be the best of them all. He soon discovered, however, that " the only thing in the world worth living for is to find out the will of God and do it." He took an active part in the early work of the Student Christian Movement and the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, and soon attained a position of leadership, but in 1897 he went to Cairo for the Church Missionary Society to work with Douglas Thornton among educated Moslems. From that time to the end in 1928 Gairdner served with wonderful devotion. Prevented by the shortage of staff from doing work for which he was peculiarly fitted, he cheerfully shouldered all kinds of duties, never repining, but rejoicing to share the fellowship of his Master's labour and sufferings. In this country he was best known by his study circle book on Islam and his admirable Report of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910. It is to be regretted that the Society he served was not able to give him more assistance and so enable him to make the contributions to Christian learning for which his special studies and experience qualified him. Had they done so, however, we might perhaps have missed the glow and the gladness, the appeal and the challenge, of this sacrificial and winsome life.

Herr Otto Rühle's *Karl Marx: His Life and Work* (Allen & Unwin, 15s.) is the reverse of an easy book to review. At first we felt it would be quite impossible to read to the end: even such skilful translators as Eden and Cedar Paul seemed to be hidden in a Marxian smoke-screen of words: we were afraid we should find that, to use some early words of Marx, " the whole is permeated with trichotomous classifications, penned with wearisome prolixity." Then, suddenly, the book gets under weigh, and in parts becomes quite readable, and we obtain a clear picture of Marx, blustering, overbearing, utterly incapable of managing his household affairs, madly jealous of Lassalle and of Bakunin—all of which is to be explained, according to our author, by the fact that he suffered from gastric trouble, was a neurotic, and had a pronounced inferiority complex! Marx lived for a large part of his life on the bounty of Friedrich Engels: never had man truer and more patient friend—and it is Engels and not Marx who is the hero of Herr Rühle's narrative. There was room for a clear account of Marx's life and work in English—but we still wait for it.

The " inferiority complex " also, according to Mr. Sisley Huddleston, entirely explains Louis XIV. The theory of his *Louis XIV in Love and War* (Cape, 18s.) is thus stated (it is, by the way, by no means so original as Mr. Huddleston leads us to suppose) :—

> We shall see—and it is amazing that nobody has ever pointed out such an obvious truth—that Louis secretly suffered all his life from his juvenile inferiority. We are all more or less distressed by our concealed feeling of futility, or inadequacy; but when the feeling is as deep-rooted as it was in the soul of Louis, when the theatre of action is not a home or an office but a continent, then the result is the triumph of Absolute Monarchy and the splendour of Versailles, a series of devastating wars of magnificence which gave to France her general contour and to Europe diplomatic traditions which are valid and vital to-day.

Very readably does Mr. Huddleston develop his thesis. But it is all too easy, surely ! The " superb Olympe," the homely Marie Mancini, the shrinking Louise de la Vallière, the pushing la Montespan, the pious Madame la Maintenon—Mr. Huddleston has no difficulty in explaining to his own satisfaction, though not to ours, why Louis clung to each of these in turn. The book is journalism—good journalism—rather than history. The copy of the book sent to us lacks the illustrations.

Mr. W. P. Livingstone, whose *Mary Slessor* has been read the world over, has a congenial subject in *The Story of David Livingstone* (Livingstone Press, 1s.), and his skill enables him to thrill the reader, familiar as the heroic story is.

Harriette Wilson's Memoirs are now reprinted in one volume (Peter Davies, 7s. 6d.). Launched on a " career of gallantry " at fifteen, Harriette Wilson, born in 1786, published these *Memoirs* in 1825. Thirty editions were sold in a year. It is impossible to say how much of the book is history and how much fiction ; in describing her lovers Harriette sometimes lets spite have the reins.

One of the most delightful books under notice this quarter is Lady Brooke's *Private Letters, Pagan and Christian* (Benn, 15s.). This volume has as its sub-title, " An anthology of Greek and Roman private letters from the fifth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D." It can be opened anywhere and something of interest will be found : indeed, it is a book rather to be dipped into than read through at a sitting. Among the early Greek and Egyptian letters are some domestic notes, as well as epistles bearing great names like those of Alexander and Solon. Later, of course, we have Pliny and Trajan, and then many letters from the Saints, including Jerome and Augustine. It is impossible to quote the anthology adequately : we content ourselves with a few sentences from Jerome and from Synesius, the philosopher called to be a bishop. Jerome, speaking of the way Origen used to work, says :

> Thus it was both day and night, prayer followed reading, and reading, prayer. Have we ever done the like? Brute beasts that we are, slaves of the flesh. A couple of hours' reading finds us beginning to yawn, we pass a hand over the face, we try to repress our languor, and as if wearied with much toil, betake ourselves again to worldly pursuits.

Synesius says :

> No, if I am called to the priesthood, I declare before God and man that I refuse to preach dogmas which I do not believe. Truth is an attribute of God, and I wish in all things to be blameless before Him . . . God must be obeyed with a willing heart. But even at the cost of God's not admitting me to His service, I must place first my love of Truth, the most divine thing of all. And I must not slip into His service through ways most opposed to it—through falsehood.

Mr. E. E. Kellett is always well worth reading, and *The Whirligig of Taste* (Hogarth Press, 3s. 6d.) is one of the liveliest books on literary criticism we remember to have read. All interested in literature will benefit by it, while it is full of awful warnings for reviewers. From primitive times down to the Victorians Mr. Kellett profusely illustrates his position, which is suggested by these quotations :—

> " But in very truth, if we are candid, we shall admit that almost all critical judgment, however skilfully disguised with the trappings of reasoning, is in the main built on prejudice: less flagrant, perhaps, than Carlyle's and less violently expressed, but none the less real. Macaulay said of Burke that he adopted his opinions like a partisan and defended them like a philosopher. This is true of us all, except that the philosophy is usually less visible than in Burke. We all approve or disapprove first, and find our reasons or excuses afterwards: and we approve or disapprove because of a series of events with which, often enough, aesthetics have nothing to do . . . "
>
> " Only one thing remains rock-like and immovable, like Athanasius against the world; and that is, our fixed conviction that the judgments we happen to hold at the moment are infallible and irrefragable."

Another admirable literary critic, also a Wesleyan, is the Rev. Henry Bett, of Handsworth College, whose *Studies in Literature* (Sharp, 5s.) collects writings from various periodicals. The first essay, "Evangelical Religion and Literature," is a fine study of the relation of the Kingdom of God to the kingdom of letters, and "The Greek Anthology," which follows, is very well done. One or two of the later papers are rather thin, but "Théophile Gautier" and "Some Elements of Style" are more satisfying.

In the same series as Mr. Kellett's book (Hogarth Press, 3s. 6d.) we have Mr. Edmund Blunden's charming study of *Nature in Literature,* a book to be read these autumn days, not merely because we meet familiar names and passages, but also refresh our memories of poets such as Stephen Duck and Robert Bloomfield.

We have never yet met anyone who claimed to understand William Blake, and we do not feel we are much the wiser for reading Mr. Denis Saurat's *Blake and Modern Thought* (Constable, 14s.). The book is only short, but it abounds with quotations, and on at least one occasion a quotation from Blake covering the best part of a page is repeated a few pages afterwards. But Mr. Saurat does well in suggesting Blake's debt to the movements of his time—Swedenborgianism, Occultism, and the rest : as he says : " The more we study Blake, the more persuaded we become that there was not one absurdity in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century that Blake did not know." The book has eight collotype plates.

Those who desire acquaintance with Carlyle will find Mr. A. H. R. Ball's *Selections from Carlyle* (Cambridge Press, 4s.) useful, especially if his Introduction be read first.

Miss Evelyn Sharp's *The Child Grows Up* (Bodley Head, 7s. 6d.) continues her previous book, *The London Child.* The book is at once delightful and disturbing. The sketches of young people with which the narrative is interspersed are admirable, but no one can read the book without an uncomfortable feeling that far too little is being done to help adolescents in their most difficult years. When we remember that from 14 to 16 the State entirely lets go its hold, the Board of Education dropping responsibility at 14 and the Ministry of Health and Labour not accepting it until 16, we are inclined to think that there is something to be said for Mr. Shaw's theory that this world is the asylum for the planetary system.

Dr. B. A. Yeaxlee's "sketch of the range and significance of the Adult Education Movement," *Lifelong Education* (Cassell, 2s. 6d.) is packed with information about this new movement, not merely in this country, but in lands like Denmark. He tells us of all kinds of experiments that are being made, and of developments that are imminent, and does not overlook the revolution in education which may be worked by wireless. A useful book of reference.

Dr. Yeaxlee quotes Dr. E. L. Thorndike's *Adult Learning* (Macmillan, 10s.), the next book on our list, which also bears on the title page the names of Drs. Bregman, Tilton, and Woodyard. It is one of six "Studies in Adult Education," and tells of research into the changes and amount of the ability to learn between the ages of 15 and 45, especially 25 and 45. All kinds of plans for recording these changes were adopted, and the results are set out in statistics and tables in typical American manner.

Professor G. H. Thomson, Professor of Education at Edinburgh, has had a very varied career, the fruits of which are evidenced in *A Modern Philosophy of Education* (Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.), a book which we commend to all interested in the subject. Too often one meets with teachers who seem to be in their profession just for a living, who have little consciousness of the ideals and aims of education, and no conception of the glory of their calling. If they would all read Professor Thomson's sketch a transformation might speedily be wrought in the schools of the land. Take, for example, the way Chapter 10, "Competition and Co-operation," begins: "I suppose that few schoolmasters ever pause in their labours to ask themselves the question, whether they are training their pupils to compete with their fellows or to co-operate with them." A little thought on these lines would harm neither teachers nor parents. One or two chapters of the book are rather technical, but as a whole it is very readable and deserves a wide circulation. There is a misprint on p. 80.

Although bearing Dr. Maria Montessori's name on the title page, *The Child in the Church* (Sands, 5s.) is a composite work, the Editor—the Rev. M. Standing—contributing some of the chapters, one of which is in the form of a dialogue with Dr. Montessori. The book has a special value in that it shows how Roman Catholicism accommodates itself to Montessori methods.

Mr. J. H. Burns's *A Vision of Education* (Williams & Norgate, 3s. 6d.) is an "Imaginary Verbatim Report of the First Interplanetary Conference," in which representatives from Mars, Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn, *etc.*, take part. It is pleasant enough but it does not get us much "forrader." Mr. Aldous Huxley's Preface seems to be an exercise in the insertion of parentheses—there are four bracketed sentences on the first page.

Mr. Godfrey S. Pain's **Boys' Clubs* (Ludgate Circus House, 2s. 6d.) is a very sensible and practical book, which all workers among boys should have. It contains all kinds of suggestions for running clubs, and gives lists of yarns and of games to which leaders can turn continually, while the bibliographies will always be handy. Every Sunday School, Scout troop, and Boys' Brigade company, should have a copy.

Joy in Work (Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.) is a translation (by Eden and Cedar Paul) of M. Henri de Man's *Der Kampf um die Arbeitsfreude*, omitting the 78 autobiographical reports on which the work is based. M. de Man studies the positive and negative factors affecting the worker's attitude to his work. Impulses to joy in work are: I. *Primary*. These are the Instincts of Work, Play, Curiosity, Self-Assertion, and the Construc-

tive, Possessive, and Combative Instincts; II. *Secondary,* comprising Herd Instinct, the Longing for Mastery, Aesthetic Gratification, and Considerations of Self-Interest and Social Advantage; III. *The Sense of Social Obligation.* Hindrances and inhibitions are divided into *Technical,* such as detail and repetition, and *Social,* such as dissatisfaction with working conditions or insecurity of livelihood.

Mr. V. F. Calverton's *The Bankruptcy of Marriage* (Hamilton, 15s.) is a study of " the new morality." Puritanism, " bourgeois morality," the home, chastity—on these Mr. Calverton pours his scorn. Modern marriage has failed, witness the increase of divorce, the number of abortions, the extra-matrimonial sexual intercourse, and the growth of companionate marriage. With women's rise to social freedom and political power, and with the spread of the knowledge of contraceptives, there is a new attitude to marriage altogether. Then we have a panegyric on Soviet Russia and its practice in regard to marriage: incidentally we are told that not one death has occurred in the 55,000 legally performed abortions, and this is contrasted with the numerous deaths from clandestine abortions in England and the United States. What Mr. Calverton seems to desire is general instruction in the use of contraception, the legalizing of abortion, and the establishing of some non-permanent form of marriage union not, so far as we can make out, necessarily monogamous. This, he claims, will decrease prostitution, masturbation, as well as all manner of nervous complaints, and tend to a great increase in happiness. He seems to think, despite many experts, that continence is harmful.

The hopes with which we began Canon Edward Lyttelton's *The Christian and Birth Control* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.) were speedily disappointed. The " Open Letter to the Bishops " which precedes the discussion appeals for courage and unity among the bishops, and for the presentation of a fly-leaf of advice to every couple married in church. But the book itself—a discussion in which three people take part—fails to help as much as it might. To talk about the Day of Judgment is not particularly useful, nor does it help young people to describe their temptations as " diabolical suggestions."

Mr. W. M. Gallichan, who has written many volumes on sex and health questions, now writes on *Youthful Old Age* (Laurie, 7s. 6d.). The book, while perhaps giving rather too much of its space to sex, contains sound counsel.

By the same writer is *The Poison of Prudery* (Laurie, 7s. 6d.). It is by no means the " historical survey " of prudery it claims to be, and, while it is said to be " the outcome of the suppression of *The Well of Loneliness,*" in many ways it has a pre-war atmosphere clinging to it. Twenty years ago it might have been true that " the strongest emphasis is laid upon restraint, resistance, control, and repression, and nothing is said about healthy expression," but it is not so to-day. The trouble is that, while clean and healthy frankness about sex is desirable, so many people are on the look-out to exploit sex interest for their own profit, heedless altogether of any harm they might do.

Dr. W. Sadler's *The Truth about Mind Cure* (Allen & Unwin, 5s.) is a boisterous book from America by a doctor of twenty-five years' standing. There is a bluff commonsense about it, and we can imagine some will benefit greatly by reading it, just as we can imagine others being cured by Dr. Sadler's bedside manner.

Dr. L. M. Jones's *Quakers in Action* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) is really a supplement to Dr. Rufus Jones's *A Service of Love in War Time* and Miss

Ruth Fry's *A Quaker Adventure.* It tells of the humanitarian activities of the Quakers in Europe mainly in the years subsequent to 1924.

Mr. Andrew Reid Cowan's *War in World History* (Longmans, 6s.) is a depressing if at times a flippant book. He calls it " suggestions for students," and it will certainly stimulate thought and discussion, though it will often arouse opposition and even indignation.

Housewives could learn much from *Science of the Home* (Chapman & Hall, 7s. 6d.), an American book in which Mr. N. B. Giles and Miss D. G. Ellis discuss the relation of science to food, health, water, air, heat, light, electricity, clothing, from the point of view of the home, and thus provide a practical housekeeping manual.

No, Mr. Arnold Ridley, we cannot believe that even a " school for the sons of gentlemen " would possess masters like those in your play *Keepers of Youth* (Benn, 3s. 6d.) or be so arranged as to have a staircase where the two bedrooms were those of the pretty assistant matron and the games master. It is really asking too much of our intelligence, and the savage satire of your play did not really demand such absurd arrangements. There is power and promise in *Keepers of Youth,* but you can and will do better.

We cannot share Sir Oliver Lodge's view (quoted within) of Mr. John Galsworthy's *Exiled* (Duckworth, 3s. 6d.), though we may change our opinion on seeing the play. It exhibits Mr. Galsworthy's gifts in the presentation of the social clashes in English life, but not, we think, with the power of some of his earlier plays.

Herr Jacob Wassermann is represented this quarter by a translation of a volume of short stories, *Worlds' Ends* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.), the title story being omitted because it has previously been translated. The five stories are different in kind, but alike in being extremely powerful. Herr Wassermann has remarkable insight into human motives, and both as psychological studies and realistic description these stories are noteworthy.

We hope that some scientific observer is noting the strange changes of mental attitude in regard to war. Why, after a period when nobody wanted to talk or read about the war, does *Journey's End* suddenly become popular? Why does Herr Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Putnam, 7s. 6d.) run rapidly through many editions in an English translation? The book is a realistic description of war by one who shared in it from his eighteenth year. It hides nothing : indeed, there is a frankness about natural processes we thought had passed away with Dean Swift and the eighteenth century. It tells with graphic detail how war on the front and life in the hospital destroyed those whom it did not kill, and, in the wrapper's apt words, describes three things, " the war, the fate of a generation, and true comradeship."

We admit that the opening chapters of Mr. J. B. Priestley's *The Good Companions* (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.) greatly prejudiced us in favour of the book. To find someone who can write the Yorkshire dialect correctly, who can use gloriously expressive words like " malacking " and accurately describe the life of the " Bruddersford " we know so well—with the Market Hall where you can " have a ham tea or buy boots and pans and min humbugs and dress lengths and comic songs "—disposes a Yorkshireman to look on a book with very kindly eyes. But even an unbiased person we think, will enjoy Mr. Priestley's clean, healthy story. Very skilfully he brings together a strange assortment of characters and tells of their fat when banded together in the concert party, " The Good Companions." They are all alive; indeed, we have seen Jess Oakroyd going into Butter

shaw's many a time: that shop, by the way, " catered to both body and soul, one half of it being given to tripe and cow-heels and the other half to music, chiefly sixpenny songs and cheap gramophone records."

Little Novels (Constable, 7s. 6d.) contains ten of Arthur Schnitzler's stories, published in German between 1900 and 1910, and now translated by Eric Sutton. Many of them deal with telepathic, some of them with gruesome, subjects; all of them are written in a style both terse and vivid.

We never miss an opportunity of reading Mr. Neville Cardus's articles in *The Manchester Guardian,* where he calls himself " Cricketer," and so we are familiar with the papers in *The Summer Game* (Cayme Press, 6s.). Mr. Cardus well deserves the reputation he has earned as the best writer on cricket in the country to-day, and these 32 sketches give an excellent illustration of his style and method of treatment. True, he has his prejudices: there can be nobody to him like Maclaren and Johnny Tyldesley, and it is delightful to a Yorkshireman to see how here—just as in *Days in the Sun*—when he has to select Lancashire and Yorkshire matches to describe, he pitches on the rare instances when Lancashire had the better of the argument! But Yorkshiremen are among his favourites. Praise of Rhodes is frequent, and there is a beautiful tribute to Roy Kilner—and what would Mr. Cardus do without Emmott Robinson? Some repetition in the book might have been avoided (two versions of Kilner's description of a Lancashire and Yorkshire match will give work to the higher critics), but on the whole the volume will win the hearts of all cricket lovers.

EDITOR.

Canon H. J. D. Astley's *Biblical Anthropology* (Oxford Press, 12s. 6d.) contains a number of essays which have appeared in various periodicals, together with two new ones on " Rest Days " and " Tree Worship." We are unable to find anything very original in any of these. An immense amount of rather desultory reading is represented, but the conclusions, when any are drawn, seem singularly uninspired, nor does the research give the impression of having had much critical acumen behind it.

For example, a glance at the discussions of sabbath origin by Meinhold, Ders, and Benzinger might have saved the author from his curiously uncritical and astonishing statement that " the primitive Hebrews already had a seven-day week from time immemorial." Benzinger (*Heb. Arch.*[3] p. 379) says: " the moon-sabbath (full-moon) was thus known to the ancient Israelites also and was kept by them as a festival. But in opposition to that custom Yahwism, which rejects the usages of the moon-cultus wherever it can do so, selects as sabbath the weekly sabbath, the seventh day of the week . . . and thus definitely does away with the two moon-festivals, new moon and full moon." Canon Astley strangely quotes the P code as evidence of early Hebrew usage! His criticism seems as rusty as his knowledge of continental research.

The chapters on the *swastika* sign are a real jumble. And no grounds are offered for the suggested origin of the sign as representing sexual generation of new life. The Egyptian *'ankh* sign has certainly no such origin, but is the ideogram for a sandal-strap, and apparently for a mirror also, according to Gardiner (*Eg. Gramm.,* p. 494). The author seems to be unaware that this sign too becomes a long-stemmed cross in its hieratic form.

The Harvard University excavation of the site of Samaria by Reisner and Fischer yielded very ample and interesting results which were published in full some four or five years ago. In *Samaria in Ahab's Time*

(Clark, 8s.) Mr. J. W. Jack has endeavoured to present us with some of the winnowings of this immense mass of archæological information, and to combine it with data previously known from Hebrew and Assyrian sources. He is an omnivorous reader, but though apparently free from anti-critical prejudice he hardly seems to realize the importance of a critical knowledge of the sources employed by the compilers of our Hebrew documents. Certainly he shares this curious disregard for the necessity of documentary study with quite a number of well-known excavators. Nevertheless, his book is well worth reading, especially for those who have no time or opportunity to peruse the full report of the expedition. His own deductions seem to us to be (with the caution noted) often on the right lines. The Hebrew civilization was undoubtedly both late and derived. The general emphasis on the importance of archæological evidence is very timely.

Captain C. Leonard Woolley's work as an excavator at Ur has been widely advertised. And rightly so, for he is an effective and capable digger. An excavator, however, is not to-day necessarily qualified either as a linguistic scholar or as a historian, although it is certainly a great advantage for either of these to have had some experience of digging on an actual site, so that he may both attain local colour and understand how his material has been collected for him. In the present case Captain Woolley's *The Sumerians* (Clarendon Press, 6s.) necessarily rests largely on the few classics of the subject, especially the late L. W. King's famous and monumental *Sumer and Akkad* (and on such recent studies as Sir A. Keith's *Al 'Ubaid*), to the material in which has been added some fresh information collected by the author, together with several interesting new photographs of objects lately unearthed. Captain Woolley possibly somewhat exaggerates the relative importance of the Sumerian culture, and conversely tends to look at the evidence for other early civilizations through the wrong end of his telescope.*

J. P. Naish.

Prof. J. M. Shaw, of Auburn Seminary, N.Y., who, when he was at Halifax, N.S., wrote the best book on the Fatherhood of God that I know, has rendered another real service in * *Essentials and Non-Essentials of the Christian Faith* (Clark, 5s.). He " gangs ower the fundamentals," in this case the five points propounded by the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in 1910, and re-affirmed in 1923 as essential doctrines. These are (1) the inerrancy of Scripture, (2) the Virgin Birth, (3) the forensic view of the Atonement, (4) the physical resurrection, and (5) the miracles, of Jesus. While dealing trenchantly with Prof. Machen and W. J. Bryan, he acknowledges the worth of the concern behind their antagonism to the liberal movement in theology. His own position is that the true essentials are properly religious convictions based on Christian experience. There is continuity of experience but relativity of expression; one may be and ought to be at the same time both a Fundamentalist and a Modernist. In this spirit, and with a wide knowledge of the relevant literature in addition to his own acumen, Dr. Shaw discusses the five points, and I cordially commend his book to all who wish for a discussion in which an ardent evangelical faith and an illumined reason are yoked together.

New York, like London, has its Dr. Norwood. He is the rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, and in *The Steep Ascent* (Scribner's, 6s.) presents a series of Lenten addresses meant especially for those " who seek

* The best books on this subject are C. Dawson, *The Age of the Gods*, and V. G. Childe, *The Most Ancient East*.

help on the path of discipleship." They are homely in style and exceedingly catholic in spirit; *e.g.*, " I wish that Christianity had stopped at the word *disciple,* had made no distinction between bishops, priests, deacons and laity."

Disregarding " all existing theories or assumptions, even those sanctioned by the canons of historical criticism," Mr. R. H. Crompton deduces from the similarity of the Synoptic Gospels a dependence on some lost original. Further, he sees a direct parallelism of idea between sequences of sayings which are not parallel in language or chronological, and a similar parallelism in events. These he works out in a series of elaborate tables. He contends that " our Synoptic Gospels are a devolution and corruption rather than an evolution and growth." The book (*The Synoptic Problem,* Clark, 8s.) reminds me of the gnostic writings of Gilbert Sadler, *e.g.*, " Christ had no objective and material personality." The Gospel is not history, but sublime religious idealism (p. 133). I do not feel that Mr. Crompton's laborious work will conduce greatly to the solving of the Synoptic Problem.

The work of a writer who was expelled from the denomination in which he was born because he did not believe in the inerrancy of the Scriptures, who is tolerated in his present church (St. Paul's American, Rome), and commonly regarded as a dangerous person, and who has both translated and out-Schweitzered Schweitzer while deeply indebted to Wellhausen and fortified by Barth, may be expected to have a certain piquancy. The expectation is not disappointed, though the piquancy is not so obvious as the bulk. This weighty volume of nearly 600 pages (*Jesus according to St. Mark.* By Walter Lowrie. Longmans, 20s.) is called an "interpretation of St. Mark's Gospel." Incidentally—or rather concurrently—it is a presentation of Mr. Lowrie, and not without interest on that score. In a sense it is an " intriguing " book, one to be taken up in spells of an hour at a time. The author goes rambling on and rather lacks terminal facilities. His book might with advantage have been drastically pruned of impertinences and redundancies, and yet there is scarcely a page on which one does not find something pithy or pungent. Though Mr. Lowrie rightly disclaims for his work the title of Commentary we can imagine a very fresh Commentary being distilled from it.

Alex. J. Grieve.

Dr. H. P. Newsholme is a well-known Medical Officer of Health, and the sub-title of his *Health, Disease and Integration* (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.) is "An Essay based on a study of certain aspects of Encephalitis Lethargica." On this narrow foundation he builds a survey of many other diseases incident to modern civilization with the view of showing how deep and close is the relation between bodily disease and man's mental and spiritual outlook. It is impossible for anyone but a doctor or physiologist to follow intelligently the course of his argument, based as it is on the study of a number of cases of obscure nervous and other complaints. At the same time the veriest layman can hardly fail to grasp the extreme interest of his subject and the importance of the conclusions towards which he tentatively moves. He does not hesitate to speak of the spiritual element in personality and of the need for further scientific enquiry into spiritual problems and their relation to the physical life. All disease involves what he regards as a fundamental disturbance of balance in the individual, and this when analyzed points to other than merely physical or material causes. He therefore concludes : " Medicine is usually regarded as being concerned primarily with the health of the body and mind, but if

the health of both depends ultimately on the health of the spirit, then medicine, to be effective in its deeper domain, must be intimately interwoven with the art and science of religion." That is a conclusion to which a great deal of modern research, both physiological and psychological, is pointing, and Dr. Newsholme's book, technical as it is, may be welcomed as a most important contribution to the subject.

Dr. John Dashiell's *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology* (Allen & Unwin, 16s.) is a long and interesting study of behaviourist psychology largely from the physiological side. It is admirably illustrated and well documented, and in every respect a good example of the characteristic American experimental and statistical method. Though it is undoubtedly one-sided, it has a very real value for the student who will keep his eyes open to possibilities which do not come within the purview of the writer.

Mr. Jean Piaget's *The Child's Conception of the World* (Kegan Paul, 12s. 6d.) is a sequel to two other books on the thought and reasoning of childhood by the same author. The present volume seeks to explain the conception of the world which the child forms naturally at different stages of development, and is based on a careful clinical study of child mentality. The writer is very cautious in drawing conclusions from his material and gives the impression of being a sound investigator and less prone to hasty theorizing than many others who have dealt with the same subject. His book can hardly fail to be of real use both to teachers and parents.

W. B. Selbie.

The Philosophy of John Dewey (Allen & Unwin, 16s.) consists of extractions from Dr. Dewey's works, compiled and edited by Prof. Joseph Ratner. Its object is to make known his general philosophical principles, which, by reason of their obscurity and controversial nature, and also because they are contained in many separate works, are unknown to many who are familiar with his views on ethics and education. This volume omits controversial passages, and welds the selected extracts into a connected whole. Thus the reader can obtain a coherent view of Dr. Dewey's philosophy, and, in the second half of the book, can follow out the practical application of his general principles.

A wide range of subject matter is covered. We pass from metaphysics to psychology, ethics, education, politics, religion, art. In every case we find the same distrust of transcendentalism, the same earnest pleading for an " intellectual piety towards experience."

The book is very stimulating, and every page needs careful reading and provides matter for thought and discussion. The chapters on education, with their interpretation of certain tendencies in modern education, will be of special interest to the lay reader.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the book is that it leaves the reader with a great desire to read more of Dr. Dewey's work.

M. Sowby.

Dr. G. C. Workman, of Toronto, describes his book, *Jesus the Man, and Christ the Spirit* (Macmillan, 10s. 6d.) as a new inductive study of the person and work of Jesus from the standpoint of modern Biblical criticism. The book is not convincing. For one thing its treatment of the main critical problems is very summary, and the positions taken up turn much more on the author's views of science and philosophy than on Biblical criticism. Unfortunately, too, the book takes the high modernist tone; and if you happen to hold any ancient beliefs, you feel how badly your education has been neglected. Our modernist friends will have to drop this " highbrow " tone if they are ever to be really convincing. This is

the kind of thing; about the resurrection : " The physical resurrection of Jesus is not simply unscientific, but impossible of acceptance. Such a belief, if it could be entertained, would have no religious value." How does Dr. Workman know all that? Or take this; the author has just confidently dismissed the doctrine of Christ's personal pre-existence : " Hence the essential deity of Christ is an idea of which Christian people should rid themselves. To those who do not discriminate that may appear Arianism or Socinianism, but it is neither the one nor the other." The only alternative is to agree with Dr. Workman, or go down one for not knowing how to discriminate. Everything goes helter-skelter out of the window in the name of an intellectual re-statement, and what is left is little more than a shape in which it is not easy to see the original face of historical Christianity. Of course if we do not care about historical Christianity, that is another matter; but in that case it is better to say so frankly and to give it up, and not be self-deceived that this kind of thing is the same thing as we have meant, and have been understood to mean, when we have spoken hitherto of the Christian faith.

Dr. H. J. Bridges's *Taking the Name of Science in Vain* (Macmillan, 10s. 6d.) contains four popular lectures delivered in Philadelphia, criticizing "mechanistic" science and "behaviorist" psychology. Dr. Bridges says that these destroy knowledge, sap morality, ruin literature, art, and politics. The view is that of *emergent* evolution. The author has a cultivated sledge-hammer style, and is afraid of no one. The lecture on art and literature is the best. I should say that Dr. Bridges has had a lot of practice at the cocoa-nut shies at the fair. It is great fun; they come off, one or two every time. The rout is complete. Mr. Bernard Shaw is beheaded; Mr. H. G. Wells is scalped. Of Mr. Wells we are told that " he bellowed in the finest John Bull fashion." What more can one say? But the book is very able, and it will do good.

There is virtue in anthologies if they are well done. *The Tree of Life,* an anthology by Vivian de S. Pinto and G. Neill Wright (Constable, 8s. 6d.) is distinctly well done. It is dedicated to the Poet Laureate. The extracts are from a wide field, and are intended to illustrate " the essentials of religion," especially with a view to modern needs. The section on " Life Everlasting " is particularly good. A really valuable book of its kind.

The Intuition of God, by the Rev. T. M. Watt (Blackwood, 5s.), contains Mr. Watt's Hastie Lectures, delivered in 1927 at Glasgow University. As an introduction to the philosophy of mysticism these lectures will be genuinely helpful to many besides the divinity students to whom they were addressed. In the lecture on " Psychology and Religious Experience " Mr. Watt will have nothing to do with " psychologists in a hurry." This is a book to be recommended.

Mr. W. Lavallin Puxley's *The Magic Land of the Maya* (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.) is a fascinating book of travel. It is an account of his wanderings in Central America, and is full of Nature lore and of vivid incident from the present and the past. Very interesting indeed are the descriptions of the old Maya civilization, whose ruins abound through the country, and not less so the picture of Mexican life to-day. The book is well illustrated, and can be read with pleasure from beginning to end.

Mrs. N. C. Sherwood writes an account of her own spiritual pilgrimage in *The Starting-Place of Prayer* (Heffer, 3s. 6d.). There is an unassuming, sincere air about all she says; and though it is not quite clear where she has got, this is the kind of book one can read with sympathy. It should help many who are similarly perplexed in faith.

The Rev. W. N. Chamber's *Yoljuluk* (Simpkin Marshall, 3s. 6d.) is an account of missionary work in Turkey. Mr. Chambers is a missionary of the American Board, and he tells a thrilling life-story of work among Armenians and other races.

Death and Renewal, from the Swedish of Poul Bjerre (Williams & Norgate, 12s. 6d.), is a book which sold out in a week in the first Swedish edition. Those who enjoy mysticism of an enraptured and semi-philosophical dye will find something here to interest them. Life is represented as a rhythm of death and renewal; and God is this rhythm, says the writer, " in its beginning, its end, and its every least inflection." The mysticism of the New Testament is better. A. T. S. JAMES.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

R. H. TAWNEY. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.* Murray. 6s.

STEFAN ZWEIG. *Jeremiah.* Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. The second ed. in English, from a revised German text, of a drama in 9 scenes, first written in 1915. A fine piece of pacifist propaganda, yet remarkably faithful to the Biblical story. Deserves the attention of the Religious Drama Movement.

JACOB WASSERMANN. *The World's Illusion.* Allen & Unwin. 10s. Re-issue in 1 vol. of the English translation of *Christian Wahnschaffe,* an extremely graphic account of a man's attempt to get to grips with life.

MONICA EWER. *Play Production for Everybody.* Introduction by Sybil Thorndike. Douglas. 4s. 6d. 2nd enlarged ed.

EUGENE G. O'NEILL. *The Moon of the Caribbees.* Cape. 3s. 6d. These seven plays of the sea are now issued in the " Travellers' Library."

KATHERINE MANSFIELD. *In a German Pension.* Constable. 3s. 6d. (" Constable's Miscellany.")

WILLIAM PENN. *Some Fruits of Solitude.* Constable. 5s. Reprint of the 1900 Edition (from the text of the 7th ed. in 1718), with Introduction by Edmund Gosse.

ALSO RECEIVED.

THISELTON MARK. *Human Nature and Human Survival.* Kingsgate Press. 2s. 6d.

W. L. WATKINSON. *Sermon Illustrations.* Sharp. 2s. 6d.

WALTER WALSH. *Lift up Your Hearts.* Williams & Norgate. 5s. " A Hundred Aspirations towards Peace and Goodwill," by the leader of the " Free Religious Movement."

S. D. GORDON. *Quiet Talks on How to Pray.* Revell. 4s.

A Book of Prayers for Everyman. S.P.C.K. 1s. and 6d.

F. DE P. CASTELLS. *Prehistory Man in Genesis.* Rider. 5s.

G. H. MORRISON. 25 *Talks with Boys and Girls.* Allenson. 2s. 6d.

A. MATHIESON. *Judson of Burma.* Pickering. 2s.

A. W. BARNES. *Knowing Ourselves.* Bale. 1s. each. Books of Sex Instruction for Boys and Girls.

R. CORKEY. *Can World Peace Be Won?* Allenson. 2s. 6d. " The League of Nations Interpreted for Young People."

HEBE SPAULL. *Stories of Palestine; Caliphs and Carpets; African Jungle Stories; Brigands and Battles.* N.S.S.U. 6d. each. League of Nations Booklets.

BASIL MATHEWS. *Jesus and Youth.* Vol. II. Pilgrim Press. 2s. 6d. " Lesson-Outlines for Young Adolescents."

P. I. PAINTER. *Christ and the World To-day.* Vol. II. Pilgrim Press. 2s. 6d. " Lesson-Studies for Young People."

A. M. CHIRGWIN. *Yarns on the Book.* M. M. WOOD: *The Touch of Healing.* V. E. WALKER and E. H. SPRIGGS: *Hero Stories.* Livingstone Press. 1s. each. Admirable booklets.

AIMEE BLECK. *Lights and Shadows.* Theosophical Pub. House. 4s. 6d. Tales of Karma and reincarnation, translated from the French.

J. L. ORTON. *Hypnotism Made Practical.* Lutterworths. 2s. 6d.

LECTURES, ETC.

ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA. *The Church and Peace.* Oxford Press. 2s. Burge Memorial Lecture.

H. E. GOAD. *The Fame of St. Francis of Assisi.* University of London Press. 2s. The first Walter Seton Memorial Lecture.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Holborn (July). The Rev. A. Victor Murray writes discursively but interestingly on "Religion and Education." The Rev. A. M. Chirgwin argues that missionary societes should do educational work "to share a good thing, to give the less fortunate a chance, to build the Church of Christ, and to develop Christian leadership." Dr. Joseph Ritson discusses Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose's plant discoveries, the Rev. E. S. Wilson writes on "Browning's Nescience," and the Rev. G. H. Parbrook continues his study of "The Jewish Background of the Gospels." The Editor's Notes deal with Estlin Carpenter, Dr. Scott Lidgett, and the Rev. Thomas Jackson.

Hibbert Journal (July). Professor J. E. Boodin writes on "God," Dr. Hugh Brown on "Emergent Beauty," and Professor C. Lloyd Morgan on "Emergence and Freedom." Mr. W. J. Blyton's subject is "Where Humanism Breaks Down," Mr. H. P. Vowles's "Modern Science and Cosmic Purpose," and Dr. T. B. Robertson's "Who Are 'The Fit' in Social Evolution?". The Bishop of Exeter's contribution circles round Sir Arthur Keith's *Darwinism and what it implies,* Dr. Percy Gardner writes on "Estlin Carpenter, Dr. Schweitzer on his contacts with Goethe, Mr. J. A. Hobson on "Co-operative Welfare" and Dr. D. M. Sells on "What is Unemployment?". Mr. J. M. Thompson's "Theophilanthropy—An Experiment in Humanist Religion" describes a curious sect of French Revolution times, and Dr. A. W. Harrison's "The New Spirit in Education" the work of Hermann Lietz, Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice and Frantisek Bakule.

London Quarterly (July). Sir Robert Perks gives "Side-Lights on Methodist Union" and Miss A. M. Evans writes on "The New German Republic." Dr. W. T. Davison discusses Professor E. F. Scott's *The Gospel and its Tributaries,* and Dr. Vincent Taylor, reviewing Archbishop Bernard's *The International Critical Commentary: St. John,* arrives at conclusions similar to those of Professor Dodd in our last issue. Among other contributors are Mr. Arthur B. Bateman, the Hon. R. Erskine of Marr, Mr. Edward Grubb, the Rev. R. Martin Pope, and Dr. J. G. Tasker.

The Baptist Quarterly (July). This number is chiefly historical. The Rev. F. E. Robinson describes the 250 years' work of the Bristol Baptist College. The Rev. J. B. Middlebrook concludes his study of William Law. The remaining contributions are apparently the work of the Editor, though the account of early Baptist effort in Newport, Isle of Wight, is from Captain Butt-Thompson's material.

The Modern Churchman (June-Aug.). The Rev. S. Proudfoot's article "The Religious Outlook of the Working Classes" deserves wide circulation and careful consideration. The Rev. J. C. Hardwick continues his "Thoughts on the Church," and there are more fisticuffs with the *Church Times.* The Rev. N. F. Benham's "Reflections of a New Zealand Country Clergyman" are worth reading. Among useful contributions in the August number are the Rev. J. S. Bezzant's "Episcopacy and Reunion," Mr. M. C. Burkitt's "Christ and Pre-History" and Miss D. M. Emmet's "Prof. Whitehead's Conception of God."

The Church Quarterly Review (July). A valuable number, both in the article and the review sections, spoilt only by Dr. F. G. Vial's "The Canadian Church," the tone of which may be gauged from the sentence: ". . a large proportion of these worthy folk had found their spiritual home in Dissent before the Church appeared on the scene." Very useful are the articles on Church and State, that on Scotland by Dr. Carnegie Simpson (tho' he is not *Principal*

of Westminster College) and that on Italy (the Concordat of 11th February) by Dr. Lonsdale Ragg. Among the other articles are Dr. Geraldine Hodgson's "Concerning Richard Rolle" and the Rev. F. E. Barker's "The Religious Motif in Lyrical Poetry."

The Expository Times (June-July). In the "Books that have influenced our Epoch" series, Mr. H. G. Wood discusses *Essays and Reviews,* Prof. Nairne Renan's *Life of Jesus,* and Prof. N. P. Williams Moberley's *Atonement and Personality.* Dr. W. S. Urquhart writes on "The Gospel for India" and Dr. D. S. Cairns on "The Gospel Faith." Dr. H. R. Mackintosh, Dr. Moffatt and Dr. Garvie have useful contributions on recent foreign theology.

Friend's Quarterly Examiner (Seventh Month). The Headmaster of Leighton Park School has a valuable paper on "The Psychology of the Adolescent." Mrs. L. V. Holdsworth's "Halcyon Days in New Zealand" is racy and interesting. Miss Constance Maynard writes on "Modernism" and Miss Isabel Grubb on "Quaker Ministry in Ireland."

The International Review of Missions (July). Basing his article on the Missionary Conferences of 1910 and 1928, Dr. D. S. Cairns compares the Christian message in these years. The Rev. William Paton writes thoughtfully on "What is Secularism?". Mrs. Wiser provides an interesting sketch of an Hindu village home. Dr. Eleanor McDougall's subject is "The Place of Religion in Indian Education," Professor Coupland's "The Native Problem in Africa," and Mr. K. T. Paul's "The Linlithgow Commission and Rural Life in India."

World Dominion (July). Dr. W. M. Turnbull writes on "A Serious Crisis in World Missions," Miss Mildred Cable on Marshall Feng, and Miss Olive Wyon on "At the Gates of Paris," an informing account of the zone of the *chiffonniers* and others. There is a translation of a paper by Professor Arseniew on "Bolshevism and Christianity," and the Rev. W. Kendall Gale tells of "A Strange Church Offering." There are many other contributions.

The British Journal of Inebriety (July). Dr. J. D. Rolleston writes on "Alcohol in Therapeutics," and Dr. H. T. P. Young on "Adaptability in Sexual Offenders at Convict Prisons and Its Relation to Alcohol." There are many reviews and one or two useful pages describing reliable substitutes for fermented liquors.

The Review of the Churches (July). The Editor's Notes deal with many subjects, but nothing in them is better than the severe criticism of Mr. Arnold Bennett's "Affirmation" booklet. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Dr. Garvie, and the Bishop of Lichfield pay tributes to Bishop Brent. Three articles by the Rev. W. F. France, the Rev. Desmond Morse-Boycott, and the Rev. Herbert H. Kelly deal with "Voluntary Clergy." The Bishop of Durham writes on "The Church and the State," and Mr. Basil Mathews has an informing article on "The Continent of To-morrow."

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (July). The articles are Prof. Calder's "Leaves from an Anatolian Notebook," Prof. Conway's "Vergil as a Student of Homer," Dr. T. Fish's "Assyriology in England during and since the War," Dr. Rendel Harris's "A Further Note on Hermes," Dr. Powicke's "Richard Baxter and Henry Ashurst," and Mr. W. A. Pantin's "A Medieval Treatise on Letter-writing." Dr. Mingana's "Woodbrooke Study" is a translation of the "Vision of Theophilus."

The Evangelical Quarterly (July). The main articles are Dr. J. R. Mackay's "The Church The World Needs," Dr. J. Ridderbos's "The Messianic Promise of Salvation and the Later Discoveries," and Dr. A. A. Van Schelven's "The Idea of Progress." The reviews of Dr. C. J. Cadoux's *Catholicism and Christianity* and Professor J. G. McKenzie's *Souls in the Making* are interesting as showing how Congregational scholars appear to Fundamentalists.

The Human (June-July). This is No. 6 of a bi-monthly magazine (Schola Vitæ, 2s.), "which is New both in name and nature, it being the result of the actual practice of the Life-Processes which are the Creative Adventure."

This description will perhaps help readers to decide whether they have time to spend on the journal.

The Yale Review (Summer). One of the best numbers of any periodical we have seen. Mr. Charles Seymour writes on " Re-fighting the War on Paper," and Mr. C. E. Hughes, of the Permanent Court at the Hague, on " Pan-American Peace." There is a translation of M. Andre Gide's *Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue,* and a delightful poem on English sunshine by Mr. Theodore Maynard. On the best article of all, Mr. Aldous Huxley's, we comment in the editorial columns. Mr. Ford Madox Ford's " Working with Conrad " may be skipped, but there is meat in Mr. George Young's " The Near East Goes West," while Mr. W. H. Chamberlin's " Daughters of the Russian Revolution " is informing, and Professor C. A. Bennett's " The Religion of Jack Dullboy " full of interest.

The Harvard Theological Review (July). This number is entirely occupied by Dr. L. Finkelstein's " The Pharisees: Their Origin and Their Philosophy."

The Princeton Theological Review (April). 40 pp. are given to the late Dr. W. B. Greene's lectures on the Ethics of the *O.T.*

The Review and Expositor (July). (Baptist, Louisville, Kentucky). The Rev. H. J. Flowers and the Rev. A. D. Belden seem to run neck and neck as the most prolific English writers for foreign periodicals: here Mr. Flowers has a study of Ephesians 4^{17-24} and Mr. Belden a sermon. There are several other lectures and sermons, and an article on " Six Things of Paramount Importance to Pastors " by the Rev. I. G. Murray.

The Anglican Theological Review (April). The Rev. H. H. Gowen's " Knots " deals with " binding and loosing." The Rev. D. W. Riddle deals with " The So-called Jewish Christians." Half the journal is given to the reviews, some of them being rather late, and some, like that of Dr. Glenn Atkins's *The Making of the Christian Mind,* extremely summary and unfair.

DISCUSSIONS.

THE SPIRIT OF RENUNCIATION IN INDUSTRY. A REPLY TO MR. ANGUS WATSON.[1]

The article by Mr. Angus Watson has stirred some feeling even in the Antipodes. It has stirred me to the unwonted task of addressing myself to columns devoted to religious thought. There is entertainment in the fact that one has, in such cases, a much greater desire to smite a writer who is obviously more than half a friend than one who is wholly an enemy. If my desire to deal summarily with Mr. Watson is on that account somewhat pagan I shall nevertheless endeavour to make what I have to say relevant to the important issue raised in the discussion.

What is the sum and substance of Mr. Watson's contention? Mr. Watson calls attention to " disparity of income " with a quotation which would probably be approved by George Bernard Shaw; he sets out what he appears to believe is the essential justice of the present industrial system; and then he comes down with his appeal to those just men who have been successful in their strife with Mammon. What is his appeal? It is not for justice—that has apparently been given. It is for sacrifice, for " renunciation." " Legally,"[2] says Mr. Watson, " the industrialist would appear to be entitled to all the fruits of his labour, providing that the conditions under which he has developed his activity have been just and merciful; but ethically the way of renunciation would appear to be the

1 See *C.Q.*, Oct., 1928 (VI, No. 4, p. 409).

2 By " legally " Mr. Watson appears to mean something like " on a basis of equity." The industrialist is *legally* entitled whether his methods are just and merciful or not.

way to the fuller life." And what does this great renunciation in the interests of the fuller life amount to? It is proposed that shares to the value of the reserves should be issued as "individual nominal shares," to rank for dividend equally with ordinary shares, and that these should be held jointly in equal proportion by both Labour and Capital.

It is, one may venture to think, unfortunate that such an appeal should have been made in the name of Christianity, because it is inherently unlikely that in social justice, in the estimation of human and material values, the religion of the Man of Sorrows should linger so far behind the religion of the best modern industrial thinkers. It is not proposed here, however, to discuss such problems as the mind of Christ when the rich young ruler turned sadly away. Such a discussion might end merely in controversy. The industrialist may well begin to talk of Christianity after he has explained away the Sermon on the Mount; but he need only speak of renunciation after he has disposed of justice. If it can be shown that Mr. Watson is wrong in his analysis of the industrial system—that the present system is not founded in justice—readers of *The Congregational Quarterly* will have no hesitation in revising Mr. Watson's theology for themselves.

Now before dealing with the industrial system as Mr. Watson sees it, let us consider for a moment how the rewards of industry are distributed to-day. The people who supply the capital, whose function is that of the money-lender, receive all the surplus rewards after all the costs, including wages, have been paid. Note carefully at this stage that there are in this dealing two sets of persons, and two only, those who contribute capital, which, as Mr. Watson says, is "inert," and those who use it, or to make the phrasing uniform, those who contribute service (labour). The contributors of capital get all the surplus rewards. The contributors of service receive a bargain wage. This is true whether the contributor of service is general manager or office boy. Now what is the actual justice of this relationship in regard to reward? As Mr. Watson points out, we know, within narrow limits, the economic value of money. That price should, therefore, be paid. Obviously all the rest should go to those who give service, the only other class concerned in this discussion. If this analysis is correct we must reverse the present system and pay the contributor of capital a predetermined rate, and the contributor of service all the rest. This looks absurdly simple—as indeed, it is. The hard thing about it is not its inherent complexity; our incapacity for seeing is due partly to custom and partly to fear. There is on record the fact that a Rotarian in New Zealand was moved to ask "Why a special Code of Ethics for Rotary? What is the Business Code against which the Rotary Code is clearly a protest?". A competition was held, and finally a "Business Code" was evolved.[1] Did these business men speak of "the Friendship which comes to the humblest"; of the "amazing panorama of the sky"; of the "flower in the crannied wall"? They did not. They proclaimed that business to-day meant a fight for the main chance, and that friendship had a commercial value. This was not ideally beautiful, but it had a redeeming merit: it was true. The emphasis in the Business Code is unblushingly placed on "Capital," the material element, and not on "Labour," the human element. It is difficult to refrain from mentioning again—in so many places it is out of place—that Sermon on the Mount.

Someone who paid close attention to Mr. Watson may feel inclined to exclaim—"But Mr. Watson spoke of Capital, Labour, and Management, please remember Management." Another may quite justly refer to Lord

[1] I enclose a copy for the Editor's edification.

Melchett, who also has this little obsession concerning Management. One can only ask such questioners to go over the course again quite slowly to see where they slipped at the turning. It may be predicted that every attempt to make a clear and scientific analysis will result in placing " Management " under the heading—" Labour." The managing director is as much " Labour " as the apprentice. In the Company arrangement, which is by far the most common, there is no room for doubt. Under the Companies Acts the pound sterling is the ultimate basis of control, and, however expert the management, its only chance of ultimate authority comes from ownership of Capital Shares. Control comes, legally, not from " initiative," not from any human attribute at all; it comes wholly and solely from money contributed.

It is possible that some earnest exponent of our present system may think that, in disputing Mr. Watson's definitions I am getting away from the facts. " The result," it may be urged in Mr. Watson's own words, was perhaps " unquestionably primarily due to the efforts of one man." Let us examine such a statement for the truth which lies behind it. Let us, in particular, examine it in the light of the example quoted by Mr. Watson, that of the man with a " genius for organization " who " bought the whole of the shares and the plant " and turned a declining business into a strikingly successful one. It is curious that, whether this great industrialist worked as an individual or through some form of company organization in which he held the controlling interest, his position, with ability only, would be extraordinarily different from that he would hold with both ability and capital. If he worked through a Company and held the controlling interest, his control of shares would enable him to take the unlimited reward as payment for (1) his capital, (2) his service. It would not matter in such a case how the surplus was allocated, for it would all go into the same pouch. Suppose he works, as Mr. Watson agrees he should, on a predetermined, but man-made, rate of interest; he takes all the rest for what may in the context be called his God-made brains. Now I am not here objecting to a higher social reward passing for the advantages bestowed upon us from above, though I confess I see no basis in Christ's life and teaching for such a duplication, the parable of the talents notwithstanding. I think it rather hard, on general principles, that an initial material advantage should make this industrialist the sole judge as between man and man. Still, if he earned the money, let him, for the sake of argument, have it. But did he?

Just let us consider for a moment the much more usual case. Our genius has no capital. His inventiveness, his energy, his organizing ability, cannot find its outlet until he finds financiers who will mobilize capital for his purposes. Then a Company is formed and the genius given a salary, with probably a few shares to incite him to the highest activity or to give him the impression that he is being treated fairly, but without a controlling interest. The inventive genius, whose interest is usually in mechanics, the scientific genius, whose interest lies in the exploration of nature, are soon scrapped—no doubt often for good enough reason—and their tasks are taken over by " business " men whose genius lies largely in selling the products of other men's brains. Usually, I am credibly informed, when the real factory organizer gets to work (on his bargain wage) he finds the London office so crowded with " duds " and useless overhead expenses that a " reorganization " and then a " reconstruction " takes place. The original shareholders fade out and the shrewd gentlemen who are " illumined by the inner light "—they have been waiting patiently all along—come in, as they say, " on the ground floor." Now do not let

us become confused. We have two cases in this best of all worlds. In one case the genius gets all the surplus; in the second case he gets what has been termed colloquially "the frozen mit." We see nothing in Mr. Watson's argument to lead us to believe that there is something—shall we say?—haphazard, about the result, that there is some hiatus between the service and the reward. The organizing genius blossoms brightly on the crannied wall; the scientific genius, the creative artist, withers.

Then there is another curious fact. When a business finds itself going wrong it usually calls in experts to stop the leaks. In America, particularly, the consultant business is very highly specialized. If any branch of your organization is at fault you call in a consulting organizer just as, for mechanical purposes, you would call in a consulting engineer. During the war, when contracts were rolling in and wages were rolling up, and efficiency was tumbling down, the wise Companies in America called in a Mr. Leech, and his book, *Man to Man,* tells a most entertaining story. You cannot control your staff, so you call in an expert who teaches the staff to control itself. And so throughout the range of business. These experts collect their fees and depart. They supply the genius; the vital spark. Should they get the unlimited rewards because of their genius? Wherever the reward should flow we know that at present it does in fact flow towards capital and not towards service. Do not let us make pretences about it. But do not on that account refuse an appropriate reward to Mr. Watson's genius. It is no more difficult to find his wage value than it is that of the chief chemist, the chief mechanic, the chief salesman. I am not suggesting that any of these, even to the least among them, should be underpaid, but I do suggest that, even if we make no profession of Christianity, when we seek justice in reward there are tests other than those of material success.

We have, however, been discussing two men of genius as though they were isolated individuals, as though their success or failure were due solely to their own efforts. It does not appear to have occurred to Mr. Watson that such an assumption is grotesque. Every business man is largely dependent on his team. Alone he can do nothing. Even the unemployed are necessary for his purposes if industry is to be looked at in its totality, just as a football team is dependent upon its reserves. When this point is seen and its full human significance grasped, the interdependence of genius, of commonplace understanding, and of patient execution, becomes one of the salient facts of the situation. It might be relevant, at this stage, to point out that the brotherhood of man is a Christian conception; that Mr. Watson's theory seems content to treat men as machines; and that to treat men as machines is to deny the brotherhood of man in one department of life. The brotherhood of man might, however, lead us to Bernard Shaw and equality of reward, and we shall make no professions in respect to it. Let us be content in the meantime with the doctrine a little diluted, and let us at least say that if the owners of capital are entitled to a predetermined rate, the profits, after payment of interest and the other costs, should go to the human element *in proportion to the service rendered.* Such a plan leaves a great deal of elasticity if the enterprise wishes to reward its genius, or, where the genius holds the strategic position, if he sets out to reward himself.

We have, it would seem, begun to enlarge our horizon. We have passed from the individual to the team, from the cave-man to the tribe. We have seen that in the tribe every man is a fighting man and the chief is simply the strongest of them. Can we stop at this point? All teams in industry have the same primitive objective, the production and distribu-

tion of the necessaries of life and the means of comfort to the community. It is generally recognized that the community has a well-founded right to demand a certain standard of efficiency. Industry is dependent in many respects upon the goodwill of the State (which is the community organized), and the rights and duties are reciprocal. At this point we are driven to consider many incidental problems. We must, for instance, consider the very poor, the widows, the unemployed. Industrialists must be regarded as having undertaken the feeding of the community. They get their reward, but many, even of the children, are starving. Many starve while a few pocket the whole of the surplus reward. Is it nobody's business? Has Christianity nothing to say that goes to the root of the matter? Industry as a whole must deal with this matter comprehensively, or in due course it will be found that the whole business is in fact and truth officially as well as unofficially a branch of the public service. At that stage it will be much more difficult for members of the " Management " to claim unlimited surpluses. For that purpose they will have to defeat the audit with the same sang-froid as profiteers at present practice on Income Tax returns. We have now passed happily from the team to the community.

It is not proposed to follow the line opened up to Christian thinking by this last train of thought. It is proposed to deal exclusively with the relation between " Capital " and " Labour," just remarking in passing that : (1) the rewards are distributed apart altogether from the social value of the service, *i.e.*, a distiller or drug merchant may and usually does receive greater reward than an artist, scientist, or philosopher ; (2) exploitation and profiteering in violation of the public interest are normal incidents of the present system ; (3) when we send out men on certain public services our organization can, at any rate, rise to the task of feeding them, *e.g.*, when we send them to face death in the trenches. Is *life* less important for peace than for war? We may give men strawberry jam[1] when we are sending them into battle, but we reward the genius who stays at home with that treasure so dear to the human heart, the treasure which moth and rust are said to corrupt. Has Christianity nothing to say?

Now Mr. Watson has suggested that, in the goodness of his heart, for the gratification of his inner life (Bless you !), as a vicarious sacrifice, the capitalist should give one half of the reserves to " Labour." If the basis I have suggested as meeting merely the ends of justice be adopted, " Labour " will get *all* the surplus after payment of interest and other expenses. At present these surplus profits are normally paid out (1) in payment of dividend ; (2) in provision of reserves. In other words, justice and not sacrifice demands in theory that the whole of the reserves should be allocated to " Labour " as well as any other surplus profit. If Christianity lags behind justice, behind many very mundane commercial enterprises already in existence, it is time to file the schedule and admit bankruptcy.

This, however, is not the whole story. We have seen that, in a Company, the man who holds one capital share has a voice in the control of that company, and this is so whether he knows anything about the business or not. We know, also, that the man who spends the whole of his working life with, and gives a life's devotion, to that Company, has no voice in its control by virtue of his service. He may be the head of an important factory or shop ; if he is not an " owner " ultimate authority lies elsewhere. He is not, and, in England, he cannot become a " member." In New Zealand this is different. By virtue of " The Companies Empowering Act,

1 A common practice in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in the Great War.

1924," a Company may, if it wishes, issue " Labour Shares " which confer the rights of membership (*i.e.*, control and profits) without capital contribution, and solely in consideration of service. Labour Shares have thus no monetary value in themselves. They serve as evidence of status, as a basis of voting power, and as a divisor of profits. The idea is that they should be issued in numbers proportionate to the service value of the holder, so that, for instance, the general manager might receive fifty and the office boy one. In this case, if there were 100 labour shares (the 49 others going to intermediate workers) the manager would get one half of them, and the boy one hundredth. The manager might, in that case, receive say fifty votes and the boy one; but the proportions are left to the regulations of individual Companies. However, I should not advise Mr. Watson to accuse the prominent industrialist who is the author of this Act of acting in the spirit of Christian sacrifice or pious renunciation. Mr. Watson's idealism and hero-worship would undergo a process of deflation. He would certainly be told that the object was simply business prudence based on the facts, and that sacrifice and renunciation would avail little when the injustices and irritations of the present system, despite the glories of nature, ended in revolution.

Mr. Watson discusses some of the great temptations of life—the temptation of power, the temptation of forgetfulness of others. There is one temptation which besets us all—the temptation of humbug. We find ourselves among the fortunate and we begin to weave from our inner consciousness a doctrine of " somehow good." Children do it naturally because the " constituted order " is the only order they know. But adults do it more or less consciously. " By all ordinary standards," says Mr. Watson, " personality is entitled to the fruits of its endeavour, whatever that may be." Now such a statement is, in its context, arrant humbug. I do not doubt that Mr. Watson is sincere, but I do say that he ought not to have allowed his complacence to carry him so far. It is quite true that our capitalistic system is purely materialistic and has grown up on the assumption that he may " take who has the power " and he may " hold who can." It is also true that some millionaires solemnly preach some such gospel to their office boys when they describe the process of " making good." It is even true that this idea represents a custom and that customs are hard to break. Finally it may be true that few of us who profit by the system can escape or evade it. It is not true, however, that ordinary human standards have not risen to higher levels throughout the ages. Even those who have accepted the rewards have not always been deceived into calling the thing good. Is the brotherhood of man itself compatible—looking at the great world scheme—with such inequalities as exist to-day in payment for social service? Have not ordinary human standards revolted against the disparity in payment between war service and profiteering? Whenever we seek to get below the surface to test the standards of modern industrialism we find that the human fact defies at once the attempt to deal with man as though he were merely a chattel for the enrichment of another. " We honour most the men who, possessing these gifts, freely give them back to the service of their fellows " is true, if at all, for one reason only. It is true only because we, with " ordinary human standards " see in their action not renunciation, but recognition of true human value. We are unwise if we waste superlatives on social acts which have no constructive value. Which of us wants charity? When human beings begin to act on laws of sacrifice and in the spirit of renunciation in industry they are likely to feel very unnatural in the process and they will soon be humbugs. That kind of thing, at any rate, will solve no problems. One may even shudder

at the attempt of a coal-heaver to find adequate expression for the idea that such things could be. There is much in industrial history to justify his scepticism.

It seems clear that in the process of industrial evolution we are turning year by year towards a fuller recognition of human values. Man, whatever his degree, has something in his nature which asserts that he is more than a machine, and no wage system or philanthropy has ever entirely dispelled his illusion. The systems of religion afford ample corroboration, and in politics he is gradually finding that he is master of the situation. The " Management " in politics he knows to be peculiarly susceptible to his will. In democratic countries ultimate control is distributed on the widest basis, even though the issues are international. It is becoming more and more difficult to resist pressure, and it is unlikely that industry will survive in its present form if the power which is exercised in politics is denied in industry. The man-power in industry has only to make itself master of the political situation, and it has the ball at its feet. Yet in industry democratic control is more firmly based in practical knowledge than it is in politics. The man who is working in a business certainly knows more about it than he does of general government. Nor is the control so likely to be abused. A business has to justify itself by success, and voting power by men who do know is as little likely to interfere with unity of policy as the voting power of those who know nothing, which is the condition of an ordinary shareholder. It may be remarked in addition that the democracy of industry should be a stepping stone in the doorway of full citizenship.

I feel that I have perhaps used Mr. Watson as a chopping block for theories which, in spirit, go just a little farther than his own. I hope I have not been unfair in the process. I am very firmly persuaded that at this stage industry is as impatient of charity and patronage as the colonial son on his return to an English village. Sacrifice and renunciation from a limited liability Company does not enter into the calculation of the worker any more than it does into that of an ordinary shareholder. Something may yet be done, however, to make the process of industrial change evolutionary as opposed to revolutionary. In New Zealand the machinery is already provided for giving effect to those advances in co-operation between man and man which appear to be indicated in the line of march in industrial progress. It would be false to say that New Zealand has done a great deal to use the facilities which she possesses. The driving forces in Europe, the dangers, the fears, the fundamental needs, are stronger, and industrial thought appears to be swinging more quickly towards genuine co-operation. When the time is ripe may England have at her hand the legislative machinery to carry out to the fullest extent the industrial experiments which will then be required.

F. A. DE LA MARE.

MR. WATSON'S REPLY

I have read Mr. De La Mare's provocative article with real interest, but if he will do me the honour to read my own contribution again he will find that I am in agreement with most of the arguments that he advances.

I have as little sympathy with the inactive investor as he has, although it is well to recognize that the measure of urgency is the factor that ultimately governs the rate of interest on Capital. Moneylenders obtain 50 % or more for their loans because of the risk that they run, and that must always be the deciding factor in the rate that Capital is able to demand for its services.

When Mr. De La Mare writes of Labour, however, he apparently means something different from my own interpretation of it. There is a wide difference in the character and the quality of purely automatic labour service and the creative labour which is the particular contribution given to commerce by Management. The latter quality is rare, and is therefore highly paid. No one would, I imagine, contend that George Cadbury, Viscount Leverhulme, Thomas Alva Edison, or Sir Charles Parsons were overpaid members of society whatever their rate of remuneration may have been, for by their creative genius they have provided work for an army of their fellow citizens. It was the managerial type of Capitalist, and not the inactive investor, that I was thinking of when I pleaded for "The Spirit of Renunciation in Industry," but Mr. De La Mare obviously has the second type in mind rather than the first in the argument that he puts forward. His assumption that all wealth is the fruit of Labour is, I think, demonstrably unsound; quite certainly no modern economist of standing would accept it. A large proportion of wealth is neither the fruit of Capital nor of Labour, but is provided by the "treasure trove" which Nature so abundantly spills over.

If Mr. De La Mare agrees that Capital, Labour, and Management are the three essential elements in all business development, and that the remuneration paid to Labour is the first charge on all profits made by Industry, I accept this position and am quite prepared to agree with his contention that often the inactive Capitalist investor receives more than his fair share of the resultant profits. That, indeed, I stressed in my article. If, however, his contention is, as it would appear to be, that Labour is entitled to the whole of the fruits of Industry, and that the Capitalist makes no worth-while contribution to it, I must dissent from his contention. It is, of course, true that there is nothing to prevent Labour developing its own enterprises without the assistance of any outside capital, and this it has often done in the past with conspicuous success, although sometimes also with conspicuous failure.

In using the word "legal" as distinct from "moral" in my paper, I simply wanted to stress the fact that society, as at present constituted, recognizes legal obligations that Christianity does not necessarily accept.

It appears to me, however, in reading what Mr. De La Mare writes, that he assumes that the world will finally accept the Socialistic interpretation of industrial development, and that this is indeed in harmony with the interpretation of the spirit of the Master. All that I can say in reply to this is that I cannot accept this position, and that I am certain that it is not capable of proof. I think we finally must come back to the conclusion that anyone who thinks hard on the subject will arrive at, that Capital and Labour are equally necessary in all industrial development, that they each have their own rights, and that they are not in conflict with but are complementary to each other.

The argument that I put forward was that Capital could in the spirit of the Master concede some of its legal rights without discussing their moral validity. I can see nothing in Mr. De La Mare's article which would make me modify that view.

ANGUS WATSON.

BAHAISM.

DEAR SIR,

I rubbed my eyes gently when in the last *Quarterly* I came across the article on Bahaism by Mr. J. L. T. E. Jones. I do not know anything of Bahaism at first hand, but I had occasion recently to look up the two articles by the late Prof. E. G. Browne of Cambridge in the *Encyc. Brit.* and the *Encyc. Rel. Ethics*. I am struck by the degree to

which Mr. Jones's estimate and version of the facts differ from those of Prof. Browne. The Professor was generally reputed to be a master, if not *the* master, of subjects related to Islam, and Mr. Jones quotes him as an authority.

(*a*) Mr. Jones writes: " Although of recent years there has been an interesting development of opinion away from the earlier, more anthropomorphic, to what may be called the substantially modernist standpoint, there exists no cleavage comparable with that between the Christian Evangelical and the Ritualist, or between the latter and the Liberal. The movement presents a united front."

Professor Browne tells of two schisms, the first was when Baha'u'llah supplanted his half-brother whom the Bab had expressly designated as his successor and claimed to be the chosen of God for whom the believers waited. As this led to fighting, in which some Bahais were killed, and the brothers hurled backwards and forwards between them charges of attempts at poisoning, the Turkish Government parted the two sections and sent one to Cyprus and the other to Acre.

The second followed in the same way when Baha'u'llah died. The disciples generally recognized a son, Abdul Baha, as his successor, but another son, Muhammad Ali, disputed the choice and drew to his side the first apostle of Bahaism in America.

(*b*) Mr. Jones writes: " Bahaism is sheerly monotheistic."

But according to Prof. Browne, Baha'u'llah was called God Almighty. That Mr. Jones knows this is shown by his sentence, " the impulse to his deification is steadily waning."

(*c*) Mr. Jones writes that Bahaism " places little emphasis upon the ritualism and symbolism appealing so strongly to the untutored " and " Moreover it is one of the fundamental axioms of the movement that religion must accord with science."

Prof. Browne's opinion is that Bahai teaching paid great regard to talismans, apocalypses, and prophecies, revealing a type of mind which is not likely to give acceptable guidance to the modern man. " Great importance was attached to the mystical value of letters and numbers, especially the numbers 18 and 19 and $19^2=361$."

Mr. Jones himself indicates that he is not writing with complete impartiality when at the end of his third paragraph he predicts the downfall of Christianity with gloomy exultation, and his final commendation of Bahaism is as significant :—

" It offers to the increasing multitude outside the churches, impatient of dogma and the claims of supernaturalism, a religion of the spirit more satisfying and possible of far greater intellectual assent than the types of Christian Platonism, quietest Quakerism, or the various hybrids of occultism and denuded Jesusism now so much extolled and whose appeal is so partial and ephemeral."

But is such treatment quite scientific enough for such a magazine as the *Quarterly*?

Bahaism has some noble truths, many of them held in common with other faiths. It has faced the persecution of the Moslems in the spirit of *Isaiah* 53. The first prophet laid down the illuminating principle that new revelation would go on *ad infinitum,* and that his followers should always be ready to give any fresh claimant the benefit of the doubt and to examine his message receptively. But I do not think it will make a satisfying world-religion.

Yours faithfully,

FRANK LENWOOD.

THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF GOD.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF CONGREGATIONALISTS AT QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

JULY, 1—5, 1929.

IMPRESSIONS.

I.

By Mr. Harold B. Shepheard, M.A.

The first happy impression to which one should try to do justice is of Queen's College itself, the temporary home of the Conference. We could hardly have found a more agreeable lodging. Its mixed architecture, dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, might perhaps afflict the purist, but for us it provided both old-world setting and modern comfort, good rooms, quiet courts and cloisters, and crooked windows leaning over the slow-moving river. A hospitable place, where the College servants were smiling and friendly and the meals even luxurious. We owe gratitude to the College authorities, and an apology for one unauthorized invasion of the Senior Common-room. We also have to thank Principal Cave and Mr. Johnson of Cheshunt for making those of us who were comparative strangers to Cambridge at home there and for introducing us to its unique beauties.

We met in the old Chapel, now dismantled and furnished with unaccommodating chairs and lined with books whose names and titles made one wonder what their authors, who pursued the same quest long ago, would have thought of our debates.

I think that they would have approved of Professor Sorley's opening paper. Though he spoke of very modern things, the data which science provides for philosophy, it was with the cautious wisdom which has always been the mark of the philosopher, the spectator of all time and existence. He reviewed some of the results of science which have ended in a mathematical system of symbolical representation of observed facts which, while it is successful as a method and simplification, does not present reality to us. That is not its purpose or province. It is not concerned with anything beyond appearance, beyond phenomena. What lies beyond is not knowable by measurement nor expressible mathematically. Nevertheless the measurable and material world seems to have an origin in an Energy infinite in wealth and power. What its character is, whether it is good or personal, are questions which the physicist and mathematician have no need or right to answer. At the end of his lecture Professor Sorley turned the tables on the Conference. He asked to be told how the theologians reconciled their belief in a loving God with their stated creeds—a question to which no reply was made because, no doubt, the Conference did not recognize its beliefs in his interpretation of the Christian creeds.

Sir Oliver Lodge followed, at first much the same lines. He reviewed the conclusions of Einstein, Eddington, and Jeans, showing how science has enormously enlarged our conception of the universe, both in size and intricacy, and given us the conception of an Origin inconceivably alive and rich. The God of science may even seem grander than the God of theology, but theology makes use of a view of God as a person, and conceives of Him as revealed to us in human form. We are baffled by infinity; most people mould their idea of God on their apprehension of Christ, much as our conception of the sun is derived from our experience of sunlight here. Ultimate things are unseen, but what they mean may be revealed in the visible. Sir Oliver went on, however, to express his well-known belief that scientific investigation of mediumistic phenomena does in fact provide us with demonstration of the unseen world. He described the character of that world, much like our own, but etheric, where, when we pass over, we find a place prepared for us. If we have been lonely and exclusive by choice, there they will leave us to ourselves. If we have been receptive and sympathetic, we shall find there a large and rich world according to our mind, with work to do and much to learn. The Conference, as it appeared from an informal talk in the evening, was not inclined to say that spiritualism is wholly fraudulent. Perhaps there are other explanations, telepathy or diabolic agency, one said; at any rate, a dangerous enquiry not to be undertaken except by those who are fortified by a spirit of purely scientific enquiry.

The next morning we heard about other religions and were particularly interested in what the missionaries among us had to say. How different their attitude is from that of the earlier foreign evangelists, for whom other religions were only idolatory. Now the missionary approaches India and China with a sympathetic understanding of the best in their religions. The true light has always shone in the darkness. Now they speak as St. Paul did to the Athenians, and sometimes are put on their defence, because the East is naturally more spiritually-minded than the West. The morning given to comparative religion was well spent. It needs the contribution of the whole world, East and West, to fill up the content of our religion.

At this point in the Conference the theologians intervened. Dr. Cadoux's and Principal Franks's papers both expressed an uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the traditional doctrinal expression of the nature of the Triune God. They both felt the need of a re-statement, less precise in form and laying emphasis, in Dr. Cadoux's view, upon the immanence of the Father-Spirit and on the true humanity of Jesus, or, with Principal Franks, on the modern philosophy of spirit.

These papers seemed to affect the Conference curiously. Some felt unsettled, or even hostile, to such seeming novelties. Others regarded the papers as interesting theses which, while valuable as additions to the accumulated learning on the subject, could not affect them conclusively on so old and vast a debate. At least, as Principal Franks said, we had asked for theology and we got it, full measure, pressed down and running over.

The religious approach was dealt with on Thursday by R. W. Thompson in a paper which we did not want to discuss. It was complete, the more so that it was written with the help of a group which had devoted much time to it. There is, he said, no alternative to prayer, no substitute for the direct approach of the soul to God. The soul feels the presence of a holy Fact and Power. That Power responds and reveals itself to us, supremely through Jesus Christ Himself. Prayer is the activity of the whole personality bent towards God—adoration, thanksgiving, confession, interces-

sion. Its end is to bring us to a real knowledge of God and to the conformation of our will to the Divine. Theorizing is not enough. The mind looks outward; but the soul has another aspect, towards God, in which by meditation and prayer it receives power and light. The paper was in line with our daily services in the chapel, where we were led by Dr. Horton and others in the same spirit.

It seems to be agreed that this was the best of the Conferences. This time we relied upon authority, giving full time and occasion to those who were most competent in their subjects. Not that the contributions to the debates which follow the papers are not valuable and often provide new lights. They are: but the method adopted was more methodical and supplied us with a studied sequence of thought. But neither the earlier nor the latter method is conclusive, if indeed we want to come to complete conclusions. Perhaps our mental life would be rather dulled if we thought that we had reached the end of its adventures. But one wonders whether it might not be well to prepare for the next Conference by submitting subjects to groups who could work them out for us in advance, as R. W. Thompson did so happily on this occasion.

Lastly, I would pay a tribute to our officers, to Turner-Smith and A. B. Russell, both of whom did more work over the Conference than perhaps we realized, and to whom we are so much indebted for the thought and service which they put into it—and particularly to our Chairman, Dr. Horton, always quick to gather up the sense of the meeting and ready with the right and witty answer, and himself creating an atmosphere of worship without which the Conference would have been nothing.

II.

By Dr. Albert Peel.

Queen's College, Cambridge, proved to be nothing like so suitable a place for the Conference as Mansfield College, Oxford, much as we appreciated its quiet and the beauty of the Backs. The old Chapel, in which the Sessions were held, is a long, narrow building adapted to lectures rather than to discussion, and there was considerable difficulty in hearing all the speakers. The attendance of younger men and women was disappointing, but this was in part to be explained by the clashing with other Conferences. The Conference benefited by the presence of visitors from other denominations and other countries, some of whom, notably the Rev. R. Newton Flew (the Vice-Principal of Wesley House) and Dr. T. R. Glover, spoke in the discussions.

Dr. Cave's opening paper was a succinct survey of the task the Conference had set itself. It was followed by the speeches of two distinguished scholars, representing philosophy and natural science, who spoke on the relation of their special subjects to the main subject. Prof. Sorley laid us all in his debt by the clear and lucid way in which he stated the problem; he ended by challenging us to attempt the reconciliation of the God of the Creeds and Confessions with the God of love revealed in Jesus Christ. The discussion was sustained in large measure by Dr. J. E. Turner, the Rev. Frank Lenwood, and Dr. Mackintosh. Mr. Lenwood asked why a God of love should need atonement. Dr. Mackintosh deprecated the demand for "progress, progress all the way"; he desired a "sure and certain foundation in a world of change," and that he found in the New Testament, beyond which he had no wish to go.

It is impossible to summarize Sir Oliver Lodge's address, which covered a great deal of ground and included a section dealing with human survival. In showing the attitude of modern science to theology Sir Oliver instanced Eddington, whose Swarthmore Lecture he quoted at length.

There was no discussion after Sir Oliver's address, nor was there any open conference after Principal Thomas Phillips's paper on " Comparative religion and the Christian Idea of God," a paper which showed that the Principal had not ceased to be the preacher, and reminded us of fervent sermons heard in Bloomsbury Chapel. In place of open conference we had contributions from three missionaries, the Rev. C. E. and Mrs. Busby of N. China and the Rev. W. J. Hatch of Salem, South India, and from two members of the Conference with missionary experience—Dr. Cave and Mr. Lenwood. It was interesting to compare the sympathetic account of non-Christian religions by Principal Phillips, who had seen them through their sacred books, with the views of those who had seen them at first hand. Mr. Phillips saw, as it were, the mountain ranges from afar in all their glory, with their white peaks glowing in the sunlight : the missionaries were more conscious of the quarries and the lead mines, the squalid huts and muddy roads about the lower slopes, and they emphasized the failure of the Eastern religions to influence the ordinary life of the people. We realized how necessary it was to check one view by the other, to combine the view from afar with the near view in order to obtain a complete and accurate picture.

Dr. C. J. Cadoux's thorough analysis of "the relation of the Person of Christ to the Idea of God" gave rise to very animated discussion, which was continued the following day after Principal Franks's scholarly investigation of the nature of the Godhead, with its presentation of a view of the Trinity which could be accepted to-day. Dr. Cadoux's insistence on the severity of God as seen by Jesus brought the Rev. John Bevan to his feet with the query whether he had to believe in the God in Whom Jesus believed. Had he not to find his own content for his capacity to believe and preach that? How could a man preach anything but what he had himself experienced? How could a man be expected to have the unique apprehension of God which Jesus had? Dr. W. A. Painter argued that if a man did not preach beyond his own experience his message would be terribly limited. Was there not the experince of the Church on which he could draw? He deprecated the attempt to define God with the terms of human reason : God was far more than man's reason could conceive. This point was also urged by Mr. Newton Flew, who, speaking from the point of view of the Methodist emphasis on experience, held that we must wait for a richer experience of God before we could adequately attempt the intellectual reconstruction of our beliefs about Him. Dr. Glover, who said the Church had always been too respectful to thinkers from outside, asked whether our experience of Jesus was extensive enough for the task of intellectual reconstruction. It was no good speaking about Jesus until we had more experience of Him : when we got more of Jesus' conception of God, we should be able to say more about our problem. Dr. Woolf could not accept Dr. Cadoux's view of that conception. Neither did he believe that God was limited by man's free will. Dr. Mackintosh thought the scholastic splitting of hairs about the Godhead was unnecessary. He was more at home with the vocabulary of the New Testament than that of the Fathers, and he believed that " the essential ideas of the Christian revelation were embodied for all time in the New Testament"; in "God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ " were to be found essential Christianity. The doctrine of the Trinity, as seen in the Creeds, was " inherently ambiguous "—for at one and the same time it demanded

monotheism and three separate Persons. Dr. Cave also pointed out that orthodoxy was self-contradictory as well as obscure. Nevertheless, he could not accept the " unitary view " of God put forward by Dr. Cadoux and Dr. Franks, for he felt that the unity of the Godhead was inadequate to express the view that God is love, while it would impoverish the religious experiences associated with Christmas, Easter, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He pointed out that Islam had not been able to maintain the idea of a lonely God, and that it was a mistake to think that the Divine was individualized by time and space. It was also well to note that the real dividing line was not between Unitarianism and Trinitarianism, but in regard to the unique place given by Christianity to the person of Jesus Christ.

This led to the choice of " The Uniqueness of Christ " as the subject for the next Conference. This was selected in preference to further study of the scientific approach to religion, the Headmaster of Caterham's brief summary of the Gifford Lectures effectually dispelling a notion that had been expressed that mathematical physics, even as expounded by Eddington, were easy to understand.

* * *

Writing on the last day of the Conference, I am left with one or two definite impressions. I was again struck by the tremendous gap between a Conference of this kind and the beliefs and terminology of the average man in the pew, to say nothing of those of the millions who never sit in a pew. One of the most important lessons Christianity has to learn to-day is how to put its message in the terms of modern speech. Every year that passes widens the gulf to be bridged, and the ordinary layman, coming to a Conference like this, is as much at sea as if he were in a foreign country. The primary need of to-day is for a modern apologetic in popular language. One of the secrets of the great influence exerted by the old-time Methodists is to be found in the fact that their lay preachers went up and down the country preaching the Gospel in the vernacular, in the speech of the common people. Conversely, it has been where Christianity has failed to put its Gospel into the common speech that it has faded away and died. A striking little book, *The Shrine of a People's Soul*,[1] by the Rev. E. W. Smith, after quoting Ramsay's statement about Apostolic times, " The Christians seem to have been all expected to read the Scriptures in Greek," suggests that this is one reason why the Christians of Asia Minor, except the Armenians, who possess the Scriptures in their own tongue, were overwhelmed by Islam. In North Africa also, only the Copts and Abyssinians, who had the Scriptures in their own language, preserved their faith.

Those who are re-thinking Christian doctrines and adapting them to modern science, must make haste to put their conclusions into vernacular speech. And they must not get too far removed from the practical life of the people. A veteran missionary in China suggested to a newcomer that he should say something to the people in church on his first Sunday, and promised to interpret for him. The young man began: " My friends, Truth is relative and absolute " : the wise old saint translated : " He says he is very glad to see you."

This leads me to say that our Conferences do inevitably cause men to ask whether the new way of looking at things is " producing the goods." Is it? Is it not the disturbing fact that, so far, the sacrificial work of Christendom is not being done by those with the modern outlook but rather by the biblical and theological conservatives? Is there anything of the same missionary zeal in the colleges, churches, and societies which pride themselves on being called " modernist " as there is in the colleges,

[1] Livingstone Press, 2s. 6d.

churches, and societies which pride themselves on being called " fundamentalist "? I wonder how many missionaries have volunteered from the Anglican and Free Church " Modernist " Colleges since the War?

Some time ago I had to address the Annual Meeting of a Society about which I knew little save that it did excellent work in holding religious services in workhouses, infirmaries, lodging-houses, *etc.* As I surveyed my audience I concluded that nearly all of them—performing a kind of sacrificial work of a not very pleasant nature—were extremely conservative, and probably regarded me as a heretic of a very dangerous type. And I wondered whether the liberals and progressives were translating their message into similar service.

It was extraordinarily interesting to notice how practically every speaker at the Conference sooner or later showed how religious thought gathered round two foci—called by one of them " faith and doctrine." In the discussions, too, the same emphasis appeared—the need both of a religious experience and of a re-thinking of Christian theology. Strangely enough, during the week of the Conference I had been doing some reading about R. W. Dale, and had noted two passages, both of which happen to be quoted in the article on Dale printed elsewhere in these pages. They show the same dual need. On the one hand Dale said: " I think God could hardly confer upon this country a greater blessing than in re-awakening that intense interest in religious doctrine which characterized the heroic men who belonged to the times of the Commonwealth." On another occasion he wrote: "At last—how, I cannot tell—all came clear: I ceased thinking of myself and of my faith, and thought only of Christ: then I wondered that I should have been perplexed for even a single hour."

If the Cambridge Conference has led its members to give themselves with greater zeal to the task of re-thinking Christian doctrine, while at the same time convincing them of the need for a deeper spiritual experience, it has indeed been highly successful.

OUR APPROACH.

By Dr. Sydney Cave.

We have met here that we may help each other to understand what God is and how He works with men. It falls to me to say something of our approach to this theme, which is so hard and so august. We do not claim that kind of impartiality which comes from lack of interest or conviction. We are Christian men and women who already know in part the grace of God and who have found in Christ the guide to all our thoughts. We shall be seeking from science and from philosophy help in understanding the activities of God, but we do not look to science and philosophy to give us a knowledge of God's character which religion cannot provide. Natural science has for its sphere the investigation of the material universe. In itself it cannot tell us Who God is. As Prof. Eddington remarks in his recent Gifford lectures, " Science cannot tell us whether the world-spirit is good or evil, and its halting argument for the existence of a God might equally well be turned into an argument for the existence of a Devil." [1] And we have only to remember how contradictory are the teachings of philosophers to realize that philosophy cannot of itself attain to objective certainty about the character of God. The conclusions of a philosophy

1 *The Nature of the Physical World,* 338.

depends on the values which it finds normative, values which the philosopher himself has already learnt to prize.

Our discussions would be marked by unreality if we pretended that, coming here with open minds, we expected to go away with a faith in God obtained from science and philosophy. No, we meet as those who have already seen in Christ something of the character of God. And yet most of us feel how much we need to learn.

Last year we were discussing "The Nature of Authority." We found that all our perplexities resolved themselves into this: *What is God and how does He act?* Many of us felt that it was not in our formal discussions, but in our informal talks, late at night in Keble Common Room, that our real difficulties found most frank expression. Time after time reference was made to what the Rev. R. W. Thompson called "the untoward event." Especially did those of us who as ministers are brought face to face with the tragedies which meet us in our pastoral work feel how inscrutable were the ways of Providence, how hard it often is "to justify the ways of God to men." We were reminded of young lives cut off by disease in their first fresh promise. What could we say to parents who felt bitterly their bereavement? And mention was made of worse tragedies—the tragedies not of marred bodies, but of minds alienated and of characters perverted by disease. The existence of cancer is a grave enough problem. More grave is the way some ailments of the body seemingly result in the destruction of moral responsibility. How can we relate Christ's thought of God to these grim facts of life? We believe, but then we have to add, "Help Thou my unbelief." It is on such problems as these that we seek guidance. They are problems which concern not the mere academic propriety of our formulations, but the very essence of our Christian faith—the nature of that Gospel which many of us have to preach, and by which all of us are seeking to live.

At the very beginning of this Conference we desire to be with Jesus that we may learn of Him of the God Whom He revealed. And familiar as we all are with the words of the Synoptic Gospels, I want briefly to call to mind their teaching here.

Nowhere does our Lord give us a definition of God's character. That was not His way. For Him God's nature was less a teaching to be learned than a reality to be experienced. He spoke to men who already believed that God was sole and holy. And He accepted the Jewish emphasis on God's majesty and power. It is God Whom we must fear, and nothing and no one else. Before God we can claim no rights. When we have done all, we are still unprofitable servants. We have only done what it was our duty to do. Although our Lord thus retained the stern monotheism of Judaism, He yet declared that this awful holy God is the God of love. But that declaration was not to Him a truism, but the strange paradox of grace. God, the Lord of heaven and earth, is the Father caring even for those whom men would call the lost. In reaction against harsh views of God the genial "liberalism" of pre-war days tended to speak of God's love without surprise and awe, as if it were a self-evident truth. Not thus did Jesus speak. And the love of God which He proclaimed was a love not strong alone, but stern. God is one who seeks until He finds. So Christ tells us in those lovely parables which *Luke* records. That is indeed a gracious word, but it is yet of stern import. If God were indifferent to us He might be indifferent to our sin. But the love which seeks until it finds is a love which cares more for men's character than for their comfort. And our Lord warned us that we must do God's will even when obedience to that will was as painful as self-mutilation.

It was no easy Gospel then that Christ preached. For Himself the doing of God's will meant in the end the endurance of the awful Cross. And at that time of crisis His followers were told that they, too, would have to take up their Cross.

It is fashionable to-day to speak of the " interim-ethic of Jesus," and to describe Him as an apocalyptic visionary. Yet how different from the turgid phantasies of Apocalypse are those parables and sayings through which our Lord unfolded to men the character of God. He was no sentimentalist. He did not base His hope for men on what He saw of the natural nobility of man. His hope sprang from His sense of the Father's grace. But that grace was adequate, and we find in His words not the sombre forebodings of Jewish Apocalypse, but the sure hope of the final fulfilment of the Father's will. And so, for all the sternness of this teaching, we hear in His words the undertone of joy. His message was a Gospel, and He summoned men to share with Him in the service of God as one Who knew that that service was the greatest blessing which life held.

And the Gospels end, not with the Cross, but with the Resurrection. To the first disciples that Resurrection seemed the inauguration of the new age. Already they shared in the powers of the Age to Come—that Messianic Age for which they eagerly had looked. They had the presence of the Spirit, and confidently they preached their risen Lord as the world's one hope. In the amazed confusion of those early days the first believers failed to work out in full the implicates of their great experience. It was left to Paul to discover in Christ the character of God. The glory of God could now be seen, not as he had thought in the splendour of His retributive vengeance, but in the face of Jesus Christ. Not legalism but holy love was the final secret of God's character and rule. God was in Christ, not to be reconciled, but that He might reconcile the world unto Himself. We find the same great discovery in the writings which bear John's name. Christ is the exegete of God. To see Him is to see the Father. Love's absolute has been revealed both in the Father's gift of Christ to the world and in the Son's readiness to lay down His life for us.

God known in Christ: that is the very essence of New Testament Christianity. But how soon that discovery was obscured. Men thought they already knew what God is, and that all that required was to interpret Christ in terms of God and man. So side by side with faith in Christ were put conceptions of God as yet unchristianized. In the East God was regarded as the dim absolute of pagan thought; in the West, as in Augustine, as the absolute of power, an arbitrary despot predestinating men to weal or woe before their birth. And later, theories of the Atonement hid the reality of God's free grace. By Anselm God was regarded as a feudal Lord demanding recompense for the injury done by man's sin to His honour; by the Protestant theologians God was held to be a God of strict penal justice, so that not grace but law, not free forgiveness but rigid recompense, seemed once more to be the final principle of His rule; a God Who needed to be reconciled, not, as with Paul, a God Who Himself sought to reconcile.

This, at least, we may surely learn from the history of past Christian thought: not to begin with our poor ideas of God's unrelated absoluteness, His honour, or His justice, or even of His love, but to begin with Christ's revelation of God, to discover in Christ what God is. And that is why, however well we know their words, we dare not for long leave unread the short records of our Saviour's life. Like the first disciples, we need to be with Jesus if we would discover that grace of God which He revealed by word and deed.

The God of Jesus—that is the God Whom we have learnt in part to know and trust. And yet we are deeply conscious how imperfect is our response to the revelation of God which Christ has brought. Our discussions this week will probably show how very far we are from being at one as to the nature of the God Whom Christ revealed. Behind most of our differences in doctrine and in ethics there lie different conceptions of the character and rule of God.

Even if we are able to reach unanimity here, our difficulties would not be solved. There are few finer expositions of the Christianity of the New Testament than that written by Titius a generation ago. In his preface to his recent book, *Nature and God,* Titius tells us that he was driven to devote the last twenty years of his life to the inter-relation of Christianity and science because of his sense of the contrast between the whole thought-world of the New Testament and that of modern culture. That is a contrast which, I think, we all realize. It is not easy to relate our Lord's revelation of God to the scientific civilization of our time. In our Lord's thought of God love and power seemed perfectly combined. We find it hard, in face of the tragedies of life, to think together the love and power of God. Many of us were deeply interested at our Conference last year by the frank confession of one of our members that, although he trusted in Christ's guidance, he was quite unable to bring together his faith in Christ and his thought of the God Who created and rules the world of which science speaks—a world which seems to have in it so much of cruelty and injustice. Yet surely we cannot be content to stop at a dualism of this kind. Nowhere did Christ speak as if He desired a faith in Himself which was not at the same time a faith in God. Nor did He speak as one who saw in the fact of pain a contradiction of His trust in God. As Prof. Hogg points out, many to-day " feel their faith shaken by the evils and disasters which they see around them or by which they are personally beset . . . It would almost seem as if these troubled souls had supposed that Christianity might be summed up in the comfortable conviction, ' God's in His heaven : all's right with the world.' So when they discover how manifestly all is not right with the world, it is only natural for doubts to assail them about the reality or the lovingkindness of God. But the true nature of Christianity is something very different. The essence of a characteristically Christian optimism would be very much less inadequately expressed by saying ' God has come to earth, for there's something far wrong with the world.' " [1]

Prof. Hogg's warning seems to me one that we shall do well to bear in mind. Yet the problem of that " something far wrong with the world" still remains. Christ's own works of healing seem to show that He, too, regarded sickness and pain as aliens in God's universe. How then did evil enter into our human life? Does God work immediately, or does there lie between us and Him a system of natural laws which fail to express His true attitude of love? It is not for me, in this opening address, even to attempt an answer to such questions. These are among the problems on which we would like guidance from those who as scientists have for their vocation the exploration of what, for convenience' sake, we call " natural laws."

Again, we cannot leave our thought in separate compartments. Philosophy has as its goal the attempt to think things together. We need the help which it can give. Our Christian theology has found expression in categories which belong to a philosophy which is not only obsolete, but

[1] *Redemption from the World,* 15.

incongruous with Christian values. Christianity, because it sees in communion with the living God the highest activity of man, is committed to personal values, and we need the categories which a philosophy of personality can provide in order to interpret our Christian faith in language at once more intelligible and less inadequate.

I have sought thus briefly to indicate some of the problems to which our discussion of last year seemed to lead, and to recall to mind the approach to these problems which we make as Christian men. But, by the desire of those who framed our programme, my words to-night are to lead up not to discussion but to worship. We break off not to state and answer problems, but to gather around the Table of our Lord. Where could we better begin our time together than at His Table? Perplexed we may often be, but this at least we know, that in Him we have seen and experienced the holy love of God. We are pilgrims, not those who have attained, and from His Cross has come the light which guides us on our pilgrim way. Surrounded though we be by mystery, we know that the God of this inscrutable universe is the God Whose holy love we have seen in Christ upon the Cross. We have our problems which we would solve, but most of us know that we have a still deeper need. It is not our ignorance which troubles us so much as our failure to obey even what we have understood. We have borne Christ's name among men, but we have not helped men as we might have done, not chiefly because of our intellectual inadequacy, but because we have so lived as to make the faith which we profess appear unreal. So with penitence and hope let us gather around the Table of our Lord, that we may meet with Him, and experience anew the forgiving grace of the God Whom He revealed.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO THEOLOGY.

By Prof. W. R. Sorley.

Among philosophers of the present day there is a great deal of diversity in their attitude to the idea of God. By some it is entirely excluded as outside the range of philosophy altogether, and those who admit it are commonly distrustful of the old ways of approach. The diversity is far from being an entirely new feature. Even when philosophy was commonly regarded as the handmaid of theology—as in the Scholastic period—the service was not supposed to be philosophy's sole duty, nor was it ever uniformly recognized. Philosophy had its own problems, and its solutions were not always subservient to the interests of theology. Theological interests may be prominent in the philosopher's mind, or they may not, but at any rate his first business is not with them. His data come to him in ordinary experience or in the methodical form of science, and these lead him to an enquiry into principles which is ignored by the plain man and with which the man of science also does not need to concern himself. This is the first business of the philosopher, and if he goes on to form a more comprehensive view of reality and encounters the theological problem, his thought on this higher level does not achieve independence of its primary data. If the latter are altered or extended in any notable way philosophical thinking has to adapt itself to the change.

Such changes do occur—are, indeed, constantly taking place. What

I have vaguely called ordinary experience gives rise to the common-sense view of the world; science seeks to discover a more precise, more accurate, and more highly generalized account of reality than that reached by common sense. Both undergo modification with the lapse of time and in the course of the mind's traffic with nature. Even the common-sense view of the world is not entirely stationary, though little change in it may be observed from generation to generation and the changes which it does manifest are largely due to the gradual infiltration of scientific ideas into the popular consciousness. The growth of science is a much more striking fact, not only on its own account or for its practical consequences but also for its influence on philosophy.

One of the most characteristic achievements of the Victorian Age was the foundation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Association continues to flourish and expand—in the language of its title, to advance. The choice of just this term "advancement" for the progress of science suggests a reflexion. The picture which it conveys to the mind is that of a stately procession marching direct to its goal, adding to its magnitude and impressiveness on its way, never straying from the road or returning upon its steps. It is steady, straight, and sure. Undoubtedly the history of science shows advancement of this kind, majestic in its conquest of the unknown. But its progress is not in all respects so straightforward as the picture implies. There are times when the route of linear progression seems blocked, the new facts cannot be accommodated on the old track, and scientific thinking has to cast about for new ideas and a new way. That, I believe, frequently happens on a small scale in researches of detail. It sometimes happens on a great scale also, when a man of genius puts forward an idea which harmonizes a great mass of facts that the earlier ideas had failed to comprehend without an array of subsidiary and often fantastic hypotheses. The result may be something of the nature of a revolution in scientific doctrine. Examples of it are not hard to find. We think at once of such episodes as the Copernican theory, the mechanical theory of Galileo and Descartes, Darwin's theory of evolution, and the new mathematical physics of the present day. These not only freed the mind from difficulties by which it was oppressed, they acted as a stimulus to fruitful enquiries on new lines. And their effects were not restricted to science: they re-fashioned the problem for philosophy. It is worth while dwelling upon this point for a little, for the modification of the philosophical problem led to a change in the philosopher's, and indeed in the general, attitude to theology, especially to the traditional systems of theology. Something has to be said regarding each of the new theories referred to, though it is the last of them which chiefly excites our interest.

It is possible to regard the Copernican revolution as simply the substitution of a simple set of concepts for a very complex set. All the observed astronomical phenomena could be described on the Ptolemaic theory of the central position of the Earth by means of a complicated set of hypotheses; whereas the theory of Copernicus was much simpler and equally effective. According to the descriptive theory of science there is nothing else in the case. We accept the Copernican theory and discard the Ptolemaic because of the superior simplicity of the former; and it holds its place because it is able to describe the new observations made possible by the telescope without an array of subsidiary hypotheses. So far as scientific investigations are concerned, this explanation may be adequate. But for the wider interests of human reason the Copernican revolution meant much more than this. It meant the displacement of

man's dwelling place from its central position in the physical universe and a consequent threat to the importance and destiny of man himself. Perhaps it had no obvious effect on the problem of theism, though it might compel a modification of some of the ways of conceiving God and even the phrase " Maker of heaven and earth " might come to sound incongruous. But the traditional theology of the time was expressed in terms of the old scheme of the heavens above and the earth beneath. The theologians could not and did not welcome the change, which, besides, as it had been put forward tentatively, made way but slowly. Unlike some more modern theories, it was not beyond the range of the pictorial imagination; but it required an effort to grasp it; and, when it was grasped, it was found that much of the traditional lore could not be placed within it. Even Milton, more than one hundred years after Copernicus, although he seems to have accepted Copernicanism as scientific truth, could not adapt it to his imaginative purpose and had to use the Ptolemaic framework for his epic of Christian doctrine.

The mechanical theory of nature came later in time—at least in its systematic elaboration and appeal to verification by experiment; and its influence on philosophy as well as on science can hardly be exaggerated. It has been the guiding idea of almost all scientific enquiry and has been instrumental in building up the present scientific view of the world. Recent reflexion has to some extent restricted its claims; but what these claims were may be gathered from the well-known fancy of Laplace. He imagined an intelligence possessed of complete knowledge of the state of things in the world at some given moment of time. Such an intelligence, he said, if gifted also with the requisite mathematical skill, would be able to record the whole past history of the world and to foretell all that would happen in the future. According to this view all events, including human actions, are connected in a determinate order; this order can be discovered by our reason but it cannot be modified by our will; volitions (if anything at all) are but links in the chain of events, inflexibly bound to other links. The mechanical theory was not often put forward thus in its full extent as covering the whole of reality. Physicists, for the most part, were occupied with the realm of nature and did not need to push the matter further. But philosophers had to come to terms with it somehow, and it is hardly too much to say that, in the two centuries or more that followed Descartes, European thought was mainly occupied in trying to carry or shift the burden. At the beginning of the period Hobbes shouldered the burden bravely and worked out a system of philosophical materialism—a system criticized with real insight and yet in a curiously ineffective way by some of the Cambridge Platonists. Afterwards Hume and the Associationists invented a pale imitation of it to suit mental phenomena in the same way as mechanism held for material things. But those who saw that reality was not exhausted by mechanism had the task of showing what the true place of the latter was. Descartes himself took the most obvious way by giving it unrestricted range over the extended world at the same time that he asserted the primal certainty of the conscious self; but Descartes rested in a somewhat hopeless dualism and set a problem for his successors without solving it. Kant, again, recognized the whole temporal world as under the rule of mechanism, but regarded that world as dependent on a timeless world in which freedom, immortality, and God were possible. The idealistic movement that followed was so far in agreement with Kant's position that, for the most part, it seemed prepared to hand over the whole visible and temporal world to the Cæsar of mechanism, while it retained the underlying and eternal essence of that world—I will not say for God, but for a reality that could be described as spiritual. Idealists were divided on the

question of theism, and some of their leaders seemed to look upon it as a theory which hardly merited the attention of a philosopher. Apart, however, from this more extreme view, the mechanical theory, even when restricted to the external world, made an obvious appeal both to the philosopher and to the theologian. It set before them a closed system, bound by fixed laws, which seemed to leave no room for the miracles and other manifestations of Providence to which the older theologians appealed. The new ideas made way slowly, but they were persistent, and it is mainly due to their influence that the attitude of Christian theologians to miracles has changed so profoundly from what it was three hundred years ago.

A third set of ideas which marks an epoch is the Darwinian theory of evolution. It had been prepared for, of course, by the work of previous biologists and even to some small extent anticipated by much earlier enquirers, but speculations about evolution had fallen into abeyance and biologists seemed content to treat separate species as if they were separate creations. Darwin's argument, accordingly—full, lucid, modest, and convincing—came with a shock of surprise to all but a very few; and to the greater number it brought consternation. Some of us are old enough to remember the later reverberations of the storm. But I do not think that his work entailed so great a revolution of thought as did that of Copernicus. The latter was expressed with great caution, it appeared when the author was on his deathbed, and those who agreed with it had to speak with reserve if they wished to avoid the censure of the Church. On the other hand, Darwin could speak his mind freely, he addressed a large and interested public, gaining the support of most of the experts in the subject, and he had beside him ardent lieutenants who could answer criticism and who took pleasure in braving the thunders of ecclesiastics who were no longer supported by the secular arm. Through Copernicus man's dwelling-place was taken out of the centre of things and thrust into a humbler position; but that was not all: the framework of the medieval view of the world was destroyed and it had to be replaced by a new scheme of things. So far Darwin's work bears an analogy to that of his predecessor. He put man into the line of animal development; in a sense he destroyed his uniqueness, but he did not interfere with his position at the top of the scale, as the head and crown of things. Of course, the new doctrine was offensive, for it touched man's pride: but there was no great reason why the philosopher or the theologian should be disturbed overmuch, and they accommodated themselves—though theological protests lasted for some time. Much more significant for them was the place given to natural selection in the Darwininian theory. It was regarded by Darwin as the main cause—by many of his followers as the sole cause—of evolution. Now natural selection operates in a mechanical or quasi-mechanical way, without purpose or consciousness; and its operation is shown to give an account of many of the characteristics which it had been usual to attribute to the purpose of a beneficent deity. In short, the argument from design—at any rate in the form in which it had been stated for many centuries—was put out of court. There is, indeed, a certain basis of purpose pre-supposed in natural selection: without the search for food on the part of organisms, natural selection would have nothing to work upon; and the search for food is a purposive activity. But we have no right, on Darwin's view, to say, for example, that the eye was made to see with or the ear to hear with: these organs are the result of natural selection acting blindly through countless ages upon organisms animated simply by the primitive impulses towards food and mates. If there is any design in the great drama of life it would seem that it must lie behind the process of natural selection, in a purpose to which that natural selection itself is subsidiary.

The Darwinian theory was the centre of intellectual interest in the latter half of the 19th century. It occupied the mind with problems arising out of the concrete facts of life, bringing it into touch with the actual and liberating it from pre-occupation with the abstractions of mathematical physics. Its reasonings and conclusion were intelligible to the average educated man and not merely to the expert. The same cannot be said of the new science distinctive of the present century. Mathematics and mathematical physics again occupy the centre of the stage, as they did in the 17th and 18th centuries, and their equations can be understood only by the highly trained mathematician. It would have been a good thing for the philosophers of the present day if they had been compelled to pass a qualifying examination in the higher mathematics before completing their professional curriculum. As it is, the non-mathematical philosopher has to accept many results which he understands only imperfectly and many reasonings which he does not understand at all. He has to move warily, but he is helped by the philosophers who have come from the ranks of the mathematicians themselves; and they have brought into prominence certain results of the new science which are conspicuously significant for philosophy. These results, taken together, present us with a view of the world which differs profoundly from that of the older physics and which appears to common sense to turn everything topsy-turvy.

The classical or Newtonian physics was based upon the assertion of an absolute space, perfectly homogeneous and extending infinitely in three dimensions, and of an absolute time protending uniformly in one direction. According to the new physics space and time are not absolute, and neither is independent of the other. The Here is also a Now, or if not a Now a Then. And my Here-Now is the same as your Here-Now only because the distance between our relative positions in space is negligible. If we should meet again after a considerable interval and you had remained stationary or only travelled about this little earth of ours whereas I had been travelling at sufficient speed towards some distant star, you and your friends might call the interval twelve years whereas to me it might have been only a couple of months. So the physicists tell us, and they say that everything about me, from my brain-cells to the watch in my pocket, would confirm my estimate. Euclidean space is a convenient frame-work sufficient for all ordinary purposes, but it is inaccurate if applied to some of the immense distances which the modern astronomer measures. A straight line produced far enough will return into itself.

Matter also has been transmuted. On the older view it was a substance with certain definite properties; and it was theoretically divisible into certain indivisible units, called atoms, which, differing from one another quantitatively and perhaps qualitatively, by their combination made up the masses or things of ordinary experience. The inert impenetrable atom has been made to display its structure as a sort of solar system of stationary proton and whirling electrons. Were the electrons simply parts of the atom and like it material, no problem would arise for philosophy. But we are forbidden to regard them as material particles; they are electrical charges, manifested as radiations or waves in the ether—if we assume an ether: yet somehow they produce the chairs and tables and other familiar objects of our experience, including our own bodies. Moreover the status in reality of these things is modified. At this point the psychologist takes part in the discussion. You do not see the chair, he says, as a whirling multitude of electrons jumping from orbit to orbit, for who would trust himself to so explosive a seat? And you only think you see it as a solid structure of wood capable of supporting your weight or another's. Each

from his own angle sees a different picture, and you as you change your stance have a new perspective. The chair is the meeting-point of these various perspectives; the enduring substance is an intellectual construct whose basis is a series of transitory events.

There is another point of philosophical significance which need only be mentioned: that is the breakdown of the principle of continuity in nature. It is interesting to remember that the first serious modification of Darwinism was the discovery of the important part played by discontinuous variations or mutations in the formation of species. Now the physicists have discovered something similar in the revolutions of electrons. They change their orbits round the proton not by gradual increase or decrease but by sudden jumps from one defined orbit to another. But perhaps the mechanics of the electron are still too obscure for us to lay much stress on this interesting discontinuity.

What is the outcome of the whole story? When we read the works of some of its most accomplished exponents, we have a feeling at times of being " let down " by the modesty of their claims. They seem to say that we must not look upon science as giving us the truth of things but only a description of what happens reduced to the simplest possible set of formulæ. Mathematics is measurement, and the new mathematical physics just a set of pointer-readings, which we adopt because it is less clumsy than any other set descriptive of the facts. This raises a philosophical question, but I cannot do more than deal with it in the briefest and least controversial manner possible. Undoubtedly science depends upon abstraction; experience is inexhaustible and cannot be attended to in every detail; in order to arrive at general statements we must concentrate on the essential and ignore what is irrelevant; but it is none the less necessary—and none the less possible—for our general statements to be true concerning the facts or the aspects of fact which they are intended to describe. The most precise set of general statements which has been devised is provided by mathematical formulæ. There may be facts or aspects of fact to which measurement does not apply, or to which we have not succeeded in applying it, and there mathematics will not help us—if mathematics means measurement. And yet we may be able to arrive at general propositions regarding these non-measurable facts or factors, and these general propositions may be correct or true so far as they go. When mathematics does apply and the facts are measurable, they must have some property beyond the property of being capable of being measured. When we measure we always measure something and mathematics is simply an aid to the precise knowledge of that something. It may consist of pointer-readings, but they should point to the matter under investigation. No doubt the mathematician *qua* mathematician is interested in his instrument, that is, in mathematics, rather than in the object towards knowledge of which the instrument is directed; but the mathematical physicist is always there and alive to the interest in the thing to be known. It is a description, no doubt, that he seeks, but a description of how things do happen, not of how they might conceivably happen. It is true that he must often rest for the time in a hypothetical description, until verification is possible. And he may prefer one such description, or conceptual formula, to another on the mere ground of its superior simplicity; but he will never refuse the test of experiment if he gets a chance of applying it. As long as he deals with merely hypothetical entities or with concepts preferred only on the ground of their simplicity, he will feel discontent as a physicist, however undisturbed he may remain as a mathematician.

However this question may be decided, modern science presents the

philosopher with a scheme of the universe very different from the Newtonian. In one respect it is a smaller world, for space is no longer regarded as infinite and time is linked with space. But the old view of matter has been superseded. Newton said that the creation of matter might be explained as the communication by God of the property of impenetrability to certain parts of space. These impenetrable parts of space would, however, still remain inert and would need an initial push—an impressed force—before world-building could begin. This inert impenetrable stuff called matter has disappeared under modern analysis, and along with it goes the picture of God as the great Artificer and of the primal push which set matter in motion. However the elementary constituents of physical reality may now be described, they are anything but inert; they are in incessant motion with a velocity which to us, with our slow-moving bodies, is altogether unimaginable—though it may be written down in figures. Indeed, this motion would seem itself to be the elementary constituent. The electron is not described as a little bit of matter broken off from the atom but simply as an electric charge. There are radiations and there are waves, but what it is that radiates or undulates is left obscure. There may indeed be an ether, but if so it functions merely as a transmitter of disturbance by its wave-motion, and what causes the disturbance is not explained. Alice found that in Wonderland there could be a grin without a cat, and we seem to be faced with radiations without anything that radiates and undulations that start from nothing.

At any rate matter is refined, if not altogether refined away. It is not surprising if it seem brought nearer to mind, thus making possible a mentalist or idealist interpretation of the whole of reality. Indeed it is a striking fact that Berkeley, who spent much of his time in controversy with the mathematicians of his day, is the philosopher treated with most respect by the mathematical philosophers of the present day. But it seems to me that the refinement of our conception of matter does not really bring us nearer to the Berkeleyan theory. The question is whether human experience is determined by a reality external to it. Berkeley said there was none such, other than the minds of other men and the mind of God. His opponents pointed to the material things recognized by common sense or to the material substance of the physicist; at the present day one may point to protons and electrons, or at least to radiations and waves. The assertion that these are intellectual constructs is exactly what Berkeley said about material substance. The point in dispute is, given that both are in a sense intellectual constructs, whether they are approximations to the accurate description of something real external to mind or whether they are, so to speak, in the air, with nothing real behind them except mind itself. And the argument on this question remains very much where it was.

If then we recognize the elementary constituents of the physical world as something other than mental, can we say anything about the whole of which they are elements? The most striking impression which the world thus construed makes upon us is that of its pervasive orderliness. This indeed is not a feature which distinguishes the world as we conceive it from the world as conceived by Newton or Descartes or Aquinas. But the order has become more impressive and pervasive. It is no longer to be regarded as imposed upon inert bodies compact of atoms. The atom itself has been revealed as a solar system in miniature, where minuter satellites revolve about a minute centre and may jump instantaneously from orbit to orbit. Clerk Maxwell once said that the atom had all the marks of a manufactured article. Had he lived some decades longer he would have discovered the elements out of which it is constructed, and perhaps he would

have concluded that " manufactured " is a misleading term. It is a system of fiery energy, but it is the source not only of the changes but of the solidities and permanencies of the world. Somehow or other these systems conspire together to produce those grosser phenomena which we perceive by our senses—the earth itself and the inhabitants to which it is adapted, including man who has come to understand the inner processes. No intelligence of the human sort could have designed and carried through and maintained the vast system of arrangement which atom and star and habitable globe display. But order is the result of intelligence on the human level; and the greater order on the cosmic scale reveals an intelligence adequate to it. That or else what we call chance. And the newer knowledge has so increased the complexity of the elements brought into order that the probabilities against the production of the world by a fortuitous concourse of atoms have been enormously increased. Three centuries ago Francis Bacon used the memorable words, " I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind." I do not know what reasons (if any) there are which could induce a reasonable man to believe the " fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran," but I am convinced, in spite of the disagreement of many philosophers of the day, that there is, if possible, even more reason now than there was three hundred years ago to reject the view " that this universal frame is without a mind."

The conclusion must not be misunderstood. The cosmic order does manifest intelligence—though an intelligence so far beyond the human that we can only inadequately conceive it—but it does not prove God, as we use that term. Physical science and the philosophy founded upon it may point to intelligence in the ground of reality, but they do not find and cannot find goodness and beauty there. The reason for this lies in the character and scope of physical science and of any philosophy that depends solely on it. Science begins with an abstraction. It starts from experience, as all our knowledge must. But there are certain experiences which are private or personal to a man and not the common property of all normal experients in like circumstances; there are other experiences which are not of events revealed to us in sense-perception, but are of the nature of appreciations or valuations, so that we call things good or beautiful. With neither of these does physical science concern itself; and consequently both religious experience and moral experience lie outside its range. Philosophy, on the other hand, has to take all experience for its province, and, if it seeks to arrive at a comprehensive view of reality, it must co-ordinate the results to which its examination of moral experience and of religious experience leads with the results to which physical science points.

Of religious experience I shall not say much; but it has now a different position as material for the philosopher from what it had fifty years ago. Perhaps it was neglected formerly because it is personal or subjective to an extent to which sense experience and even moral experience are not. One man's religious experience is not shared by his neighbours as are the objects he sees or the moral qualities he approves. Its genuineness, however, cannot be doubted. It is only when we go on to make inferences as to its objective source or ground that we have to be specially on our guard: for religious experience is always combined with, or has as part of itself, ideas about God which are the result of education or of previous reflexion; and the mystic in particular, in whom the religious experience is strongest, seems inevitably to translate his vision into terms of the theology in which he has been educated.

Apart from the moral consciousness we should not have the right to believe in God—if the term God implies goodness. And the mere experience of good and bad in the world and in the behaviour of men will lead us nowhere. The story of the Creation in *Genesis* represents the Creator as resting from his work and seeing that it was good; but as we read on we are told that he found it evil. Good and evil are far too mixed in the world to justify us in inferring from a mere observation of the facts that its Author is good. But the moral consciousness which finds goodness in some aspects of the world and evil in others is possessed of a standard by which these aspects can be judged and by which the lives of men ought to be directed. It rises to a consciousness of an order which ought to be attained, and in so doing follows a way which is analogous to that in which the mind passes from the perception of events to a knowledge of the actual constitution of things. And it is only through the union of these two different lines of thought—the purely scientific and the ethical —that philosophy is justified in reaching the idea of God: for the idea of God must be the home of all the values—of goodness and beauty as well as of truth.

This is a bald statement of a point of view. But I shall not attempt to elaborate the argument or to defend it on this occasion: for I am anxious not to repeat myself. Will you forgive me if I take advantage of my position and make a suggestion of a practical kind? At any rate you have put yourselves in my power for the moment and cannot well prevent me from saying what I like.

This Conference is called to discuss "The Christian Idea of God." Probably you will all be agreed in finding the central truth of the matter in the Johannine doctrine that God is love. What I should like to see is a comparison of this central truth with the view of God expressed or implied in the official doctrines of the Christian Church. I refer not only or even chiefly to the Creeds but to the Confessions of the 16th and 17th centuries —those of Trent and of Westminster and the Anglican Articles. These are still put forward officially and signed—sometimes with a qualification— by the clergy. To the world they stand as the accepted standard of Christian belief. They differ from one another in many respects, but all of them agree in making their doctrine hinge upon the story of the Fall in *Genesis*. This Babylonian legend, with its picturesque story and simple but misleading moral, has, it appears to me, poisoned theology at its source. All of these Confessions say, though in varying terms, that God condemned all men to eternal torment owing to the disobedience of one man, their supposed progenitor, but that he remitted the penalty and received into grace a certain number of them because of the sufferings of Jesus Christ. Now I should like you to ask and answer the questions: In what sense (if any) is this action attributed to God moral? Is it, even in the narrow sense, just? Can it be in any way reconciled with the view that God is love?

You are qualified to decide upon these questions freely, for I understand that you are not bound to a Confession containing the doctrines I have called in question. And if the questions have to be answered in the negative should not the next step be to indicate the lines of a theology with a higher ethical standard, founded on the view that God is love?

MODERN SCIENCE AND THE IDEA OF GOD.

By Sir Oliver Lodge.

Introduction.

Scientific men may be divided into two groups. One group attend chiefly to material processes, and limit themselves to objects that appeal to the senses, and can be studied by their instruments. The other group attend more to the properties of space, and to occurrences that, although they occur in the physical world, yet elude our sense organs, escape our instruments, and have to be inferred by mathematical and other reasoning. Roughly speaking, the first group are the biologists, the second group the physicists. The business of the first group is to deal with the phenomena displayed by material organisms, the structure and function of muscle, nerve, and brain, all which are material objects that can be examined, seen, and handled. The other group deal with what are sometimes called the imponderables, such as light, electricity, magnetism, and gravitation, all of which are phenomena occurring in empty space, and only appreciable when they enter into relation with matter. It is through the behaviour of matter that we have to examine them; but the entities themselves are active principals, while matter is inert. The physicist deals much more with abstractions than with what might be called concrete realities; but the term "reality" is a misnomer as thus used, since the abstract entities are equally real, though they are only displayed by the material concomitants. The eminent mathematician, Professor Whitehead, has recently urged that ordinary humanity is more concerned with this higher class of reality than with the material, though that seems a paradoxical proposition not generally recognized as true.

Yet surely politicians are largely concerned with such abstractions as justice, peace, and goodwill, and the general well being of humanity, rather than with any forms of matter. And artists of every kind try to embody in matter their intuitive conceptions of beauty and of allegorical or symbolical meaning, or it may be of history or of some ideal which they can only imperfectly represent by a material aggregate. Musicians and poets deal with sound, but their conceptions are not at all adequately represented by the symbolic representation of the printed page, nor by the musical instruments which have to be employed to convey their ideas to others. The soul of music or poetry, and indeed of literature generally, escapes its material embodiment, and can only be apprehended by the mind.

The distinction runs deep, and its non-recognition explains many misunderstandings; the so-called conflict between religion and science being one of them. The nature of life, and the nature of the soul, are inaccessible to those who seek to explore them by mechanical or material means. Even such physical entities as gravitation, electricity, magnetism, and light, can only be understood in terms apart from matter; and that the nature of the Divine Being should be inaccessible by scientific methods is only natural.

A recent utterance by Sir Arthur Keith, when President of the British Association at Leeds two years ago, has given trouble to many people; he likened the soul to the flame of a candle, which when blown out ceased to be. A physicist, however, would have pointed out that the soul or whole meaning of the candle was to give light, and that this light did not cease to be, but continued unobliterated as soon as it got clear into space. Light travels on through space unextinguished; else we should not see the more distant stars. So that the analogy is helpful rather than hurtful.

We ought to note the remarkable magnitude of men now living and working—in science, and not only in science—and the inadequate recognition of contemporaries; which, after all, is probably a good thing, since over-recognition during lifetime is rather troublesome. Nevertheless, the mathematical physicists are as great now as in any age, and in Bernard Shaw we have a dramatist as great as any since the Elizabethans—his play, *St. Joan,* seems destined to immortality.

In Mr. Galsworthy's play, *Exiled,* now running in London, we have a quiet and unobtrusive attempt to show the Sermon on the Mount in practice amid industrial and other quarrels and material difficulties. That the play has no faults I do not for a moment suppose, but it is a sincere attempt, and should be recognized as such, and the hostile criticism with which minor points in its structure have been over-emphasized by the critics, who have many of them missed its main theme (partly because it was not unduly emphasized but left to the imagination), is to be deprecated.

Turning now to the influence of science on theology, some of our theological formularies are rather pre-Copernican, and our ideas have been enlarged far beyond them. The great astronomers now living and working have enlarged the cosmos beyond all previous conceptions. Much of their work is of a recondite character, not widely to be appreciated at its full value; but a small popular exposition of some of the results in Sir James Jeans's little book, *Eos, or the Future of Cosmogony,* can be read by all. It is sometimes said that the God of science was a grander Being than the God of the theologians: and no doubt there is a sense in which that is true. But science is apt to take an impersonal view, and thus to miss a very essential feature which the theologians have not missed.

The tendency of modern science is to work more and more in the unseen; the whole theory of Einstein is a bold effort in this direction, expounding all phenomena in terms of the properties of space. Our own great astronomer, Eddington, has interpreted and extended this view, and recently has entered what might be called the field of theology from the scientific point of view. His recently-delivered Swarthmore Lecture[1] shows how it is that the term "God," though as it were implicit or latent, is not explicitly mentioned in scientific treatises. The mention would be inappropriate:

> It is not irreligion but a tidiness of mind which rebels against the idea of permeating scientific research with a religious implication . . . Our story of evolution ended with a stirring in the brain-organ of the latest of Nature's experiments; but that stirring of consciousness transmutes the whole story and gives meaning to its symbolism. Symbolically it is the end, but looking behind the symbolism it is the beginning.

The human spirit must turn to the unseen world to which it itself belongs. The more complete the mechanical explanation of anything, the more irrelevant that explanation becomes to our deeper experience:

> After exhausting physical methods we returned to the inmost recesses of consciousness, to the voice that proclaims our personality; and from there we entered on a new outlook. We have to build the spiritual world out of symbols taken from our own personality, as we build the scientific world out of the symbols of the mathematician.

My own outlook on the universe, my own personal attempt at "world-building," has been modified by what I consider to be the scientific

1 *Science and the Unseen World.*

demonstration of individual human survival. That great generalization has profound influence on philosophy and on religion and on our idea of God; and I propose to devote this discourse to considering some of its implications, and especially the influence that a scientific demonstration of effective survival must ultimately exert both on philosophy and on religion.

Influence on Philosophy.

A demonstration of the survival of human personality will surely influence philosophy, or that branch of philosophy termed metaphysics, which seeks to probe into the fundamental nature of things, and understand the connexion between mind and matter. We shall learn, in all probability, that, by attending to matter alone and to those manifestations of mind which are displayed only through the brain and organs associated with it, we shall not be able to solve the riddle of the universe or to trace the fundamental nature of that interaction. Philosophers must take a lesson from the physicist, and attend more to the properties of space. They are already beginning to do so in many directions. They realize that physicists and astronomers have something to say, and many of them have striven with some success to understand the significance of the newer utterances.

But they must be impelled to go further than the physicist has yet gone, and look in the same direction for the solution of problems about life and mind. They may have to admit that these entities always have a physical, though not a material, basis, and that by a study of that physical or etheric or spatial basis, they may hope to get further light upon the interaction between mind and matter. If life needs a physical basis, and if life is perpetual, not dependent upon a specific material organism, and still in existence apart from matter, then, although the problems raised are innumerable and difficult, they are becoming more hopeful of solution, and more tractable, as we follow up the clue.

If the facts are not so, then we must find that out. But if they are so, that is, if survival of human beings is actually demonstrated, then, like any other fact, it is vastly important, and must be taken into account by every philosopher who seeks to unify the universe in its widest and most comprehensive aspect. If life of any kind persists apart from the body, the whole nature of life needs reconsideration. It would seem to be something transcendental and permanent, like the ether of space; not transitory and evanescent, like everything afflicted with the imperfections of matter. It is turning out to be easier to investigate life at its higher stages, when it has become conscious and able to bear testimony; but the information so acquired can be utilized and extended, with due limitations, to a study of life in its more lowly stages of development.

A philosopher is one who takes all knowledge under his supervision, if not as an individual, then as a group, and no fact can be outside his scope. He must make sure that it is a fact, and then be thankful that he has found something which has hitherto eluded his system, and which may possibly contain the key to the whole. Let us see what sort of testimony has so far been obtained.

The testimony so far obtained, or purporting to be obtained, from departed human beings is to the effect that memory continues after bodily death; for reminiscences are employed as one means of proving identity. This, if accepted, shows that memory does not effectively reside in the brain, although habitual usage of certain nerve tracts no doubt makes

recovery of memory more easy than when the material instrument has been lost. Habits may be weakened by that loss, but memory need not be impaired. We find that incidents that have made an impression on the mind of deceased personalities are remembered, and can be recalled under proper stimulus.

Intellect continues also. Literary quotations are often ingeniously applied, so as to convey information in a curiously characteristic and evidential manner. Aptitudes for learning and for artistic production seem also to continue. Innate, and probably also acquired, faculties and tastes belong to the individual, and are retained. Indeed the evidence is that the whole personality survives, with a character and powers similar to those displayed by the old bodily organism. Above all, family affection continues strong; the desire to help friends and relatives is perhaps the most prominent feature, and indeed often constitutes the motive power that stimulates the effort to communicate.

A wider knowledge, especially a keener apprehension of the future, is sometimes shown, though the knowledge in general remains subject to human limitations, and only in a few (sometimes unexpected) directions does it exceed our own in quality. Those on the other side the veil say that they progress in higher knowledge; but apparently that higher knowledge acquired out of contact with earth seems but little accessible to them when they make the effort to return into material conditions in order to have communion with us. They seem then partially dazed by temporary reincarnation—if their momentary return to a material body may be so called. The brain is an inhibiting or screening organ, and so it is that when they again try to use a brain they feel a strain, and make lapses from which in their normal state they may be free. Even so they see further than we can, they possess what we call clairvoyance, they are not so subject to the limitations of space and time as we are. They sometimes make an effort to tell us about their surroundings, but we have no means of verifying the information given; its general tenor is that their power of interpreting the universe has remained unaltered, or but little changed, and that accordingly their environment appeals to them under much the same guise, and with the same general kind of appearance, with which they had been familiar here. After all they are still in the same universe; and although the universe is most profoundly comprehensive, so that it can be regarded in a multitude of ways, it is unlikely that a human being, either here or there, can as yet apprehend any but the human aspect, the one with which our senses have made us familiar, and which is real and true as far as it goes.

So far, then, as their own present conditions are concerned, they testify that there are many grades of existence; they are not all in one place or in one state. The vicious are not with them; nor presumably are the saints constantly accessible. There is, so to speak, plenty of room, and each appears to enter the state or condition for which he is fitted. Diversity of tastes, diversity of interests, of power and of intelligence, still exist, just as they do down here. And there is a sorting out process, probably more complete than it is here, whereby we associate mainly with those of our own kind. Those who frequently communicate with us are evidently happy, amid gracious surroundings, surrounded by beauty like that of terrestrial landscapes, and under conditions which do not feel strange or unnatural. So uniform is this testimony that I have imagined that perhaps they see the etheric aspect of the very things of which we see the material aspect.

Whatever the explanation, they certainly tell us that they are in a state where they can feel at home, can keep in touch for a time with those they

loved on earth, can be of service in many ways; and, though they see opportunities of progress ahead, they are well satisfied to bide their time, and do their duty in that state of life to which they have been called. They are not suddenly transmuted into beings of another order. They remain themselves; and changes, like all changes in the universe, are gradual. Five minutes after death, as the Bishop of London has said, they are much the same as they were five minutes before, except that they are rid of the burden of the flesh.[1]

It is difficult to realize what it all means, but they certainly say that they have music, that they can paint, that they can carry on their studies. Literature is somehow not closed to them, they do not seem deprived of any of the intellectual pleasures which they enjoyed here. It seems that we are never too old to learn, and to enlarge our powers of appreciation; for that knowledge, those powers and aptitudes, are a permanent benefit. The next world—a personal and subjective phrase—seems to be very much what we make it. We seem to be building our future surroundings in terms of character here. Those who attend only to themselves will have only themselves to attend to: those who have cultivated wide sympathies and have been of service to their brethren will find their joy and scope in service enlarged and exalted. In brief, most of the departed rejoice at the condition they find waiting for them, and are happy and content.

They do indeed occasionally testify that there are far higher beings in existence, and that they themselves are in the course of progressing towards higher states. They also claim that from time to time they can inspire those left behind, and help them to achieve results, to gain ideas, to make discoveries; and that to this power we owe much of value that comes through what we call genius. Although this kind of service may continue for a long time, they suggest that ultimately they will probably lose touch with the earth, and save in exceptional circumstances, will soar too high for communication, and gradually get out of touch with that branch of the human family still on earth.

The exceptions, however, are profoundly important. For, however high the personality progresses, it is always possible to descend for a good object, and even to suffer humiliation for the sake of those struggling amid difficulties and temptations below. They speak with the utmost reverence of One such Being Who actually took flesh and dwelt among us for a time, in order to give us truer apprehension of the nature of the Godhead and to assure us of the loving kindness which lies at the heart of everything. Our free co-operation and even our assistance in the task of raising the divinely-endowed uncoerced part of creation to a perception of its possible destiny is earnestly desired; and we are asked to realize that there is a guiding beneficent Power which works with us, without interfering with our freedom, and stimulates us to strive after the highest and the best.

All this and much more testimony about conditions on the other side will be available as soon as the facts of survival of individual character and personality are effectively admitted as true. As a matter of fact, many bereaved people already take comfort in the reception of clear and characteristic messages from their loved ones. The veil is wearing thin, and we are beginning to realize that the separation into two states or conditions of being is an artificial separation, due mainly to the limitation of

[1] I want to express profound agreement with what that learned Canon of the Anglican Church, Dr. R. H. Charles, appears to have said in Westminster Abbey recently, as reported in *The Times* (Monday, 1st July). His conclusions, so far as they go, appear to be the same as my own, though reached by a quite different avenue of approach.

our animal senses, and that a unity, a continuity, dominates the whole. We are welded together in the bonds of love, as the heavenly bodies are welded together by the uniting bonds of gravitation, and as separate atoms are grouped into solids and held together by the ether of space. There need be no isolation, no bewilderment, the universe is more perfect than has yet been conceived, even by our poets, and the enlargement of conception gained by emancipation from the material body leads to yet keener appreciation of the grandeur and beauty of existence. Truly there is much for the philosopher to learn.

Influence on Religion.

And now what will be the effect upon religion of a demonstrated case of survival, or rather, not of an individual case, for that would always be doubtful, but of the demonstration that human beings, with their full character and personality, survive the death of the body, and continue in another, certainly psychical, perhaps physical but immaterial, order of existence?

It may be said that the information just now briefly summarized about the conditions of permanent existence has already a bearing on religion. Undoubtedly it has, but it is the result of more than the demonstration of survival; it represents information obtained from those who have survived; and as long as their survival itself is in doubt it is not available for use. Moreover religious people are not likely to welcome a channel of information of a secular kind. Each ecclesiastical body has its own system complete and satisfactory. Truth is divided up into sectional compartments, presumably for greater ease of apprehension, so that a part often seems of more value than the whole. And the party walls are well safeguarded, only a few here and there are permeable. Permeability is generally regarded as dangerous, because liable to a leakage or inlet of heresy.

Credal systems no doubt have their uses and enshrine a good deal of truth. Rigidity and exclusiveness are their weakness; or, as some would say, their strength. Sectarian differences, even though they sometimes fall to the level of sectarian animosity, are usually based on little more than official procedure and professional etiquette: they are not essential to religion of a broader and more personal kind.

By religion here we mean the reaction of an intelligent person, not exactly to the universe as a whole, for that would be philosophy, but to the highest conception which the person has been able to form concerning the meaning and cause of existence. If he has been touched by religion at all, he has presumably formed some conception of a Being Who understands and controls the working of everything that he can perceive or imagine, and towards the fulfilment of Whose will, so far as he understands it, he desires to regulate his life.

A person who chose to assume that the universe was irrational, without aim or object, merely a random dance of atoms under the influence of purely chemical and physical forces, might resent the idea of religion as having any meaning or significance for him. I think, however, that such people are extremely rare, and that the most consistent materialist is willing to admit that there is an unknown and possibly unknowable mystery surrounding existence, of which he stands in some awe, without presuming to formulate any idea of the nature of that mystery. This is the genuine agnostic position. Agnosticism, seriously held, may be regarded as a re-

ligion; and many there are who, in spite of a rather dismal outlook and a temptation to pessimism, are willing to adapt their lives to the supposed conditions, and to do the best they can, in an exemplary manner, both for themselves and for their fellows in like case. If so, then agnosticism is a practical as well as a theoretical point of view, and constitutes the religion of the person who holds it.

But, whereas a theologian may possess a fully developed system which satisfies him completely, so that he feels disinclined to welcome any information beyond what he already has attained, an agnostic surely ought to welcome any further information, provided it is of a trustworthy kind, and amend his admitted ignorance by gradual accretions of positive knowledge, whatever the consequences. The doubter should be more open-minded than the fully satisfied gnostic. The majority of people, of course, do not belong to either extreme. All are doubters to some extent, and all have aspirations towards something higher and better than themselves. The appreciation of goodness and of law and order is universal. Hence practically some form of religion is common to all mankind. The question, therefore, is what bearing a demonstration of human survival beyond the material body would have upon religion in this wide and comprehensive sense.

First, it would show that life is not limited to its material forms of manifestation, that it is more than a mere function of animated matter, and that its explanation is to be sought in a region outside that matter. That, however, in so far as it is justified, would be primarily a scientific conclusion, for it would show that the brain and other organs of the body have not the last word in the interpretation of mind and consciousness. It would show that psychic entities can exist and can continue, apart from the instruments which demonstrate them to the senses; and this discovery would have a bearing on any system of philosophy which might then be in vogue. Such a system would tend to open the mind to an enlarged view of the universe, and would lead to the inclusion of mental and spiritual realities apart from matter, and possibly existing in space. If the animating principle that we are aware of in ourselves has a permanent existence, and if that animating principle is individualized so that our personalities continue, the door is open to the conception of other intelligences higher than our own, which may likewise exist. For no reason can be assigned why we or any other of the organisms on earth should be the highest that can exist anywhere. Those who have lived on the earth in the past, if in any sense they continue, need not surely have been stagnant and unprogressive. The process of evolution that has brought us thus far may carry us on much farther. Time is of the essence of the process of evolution; and in the lapse of time those who once made use of the properties of terrestrial matter for their initial development as individuals may have progressed to heights to us unthinkable, and may have come into communion with other lofty spirits whose development was not terrestrial at all.

In other words, the demonstration of the survival of the human spirit will, when accomplished, establish the existence of a spiritual world; that is to say, of an order of beings in the universe, inaccessible to the senses, and beyond our present experience or apprehension. Our own hopes and aspirations would then be regarded as a faint indication or incipient example of something far more deeply embedded in the nature of things, "a process far more deeply interfused," which may lead us in the last resort to surpass our present attainment as far as that surpasses the attainment of the lowest forms of life. Once take the initial step, and there is no limit. Continuity reigns, and we are quite unlikely to come to

a boundary or to some ideal condition beyond which there is nothing. The spiritual world, once admitted, may rationally be thought of as extending to infinity. There is no limit or boundary to the material universe. The same system of law and order holds throughout. And if spirit and matter are inter-related, so that all that we can observe is a sign of something dominating and interacting and giving partial indications of a great Reality, then the whole may be suffused with an intelligence and a meaning beyond anything that we can conceive. The only limit to conception is imposed by our finite minds, and the highest conception of reality which at any period we have been able to form is what we designate by the term " God."

That term, too, has evolved. The thoughts of men have widened with the process of the suns. The attributes assigned to that term have changed from time to time in accordance with human development. The term as we use it means the highest that we are able to conceive, and we may rest assured that the reality is far beyond our utmost imagination.

Humanity in its religious efforts has striven towards this ideal, with many limitations and imperfections, and has only gone a little way on the journey. But it has felt justified in extending its own ideas of goodness, beauty, and truth, has realized that after all they are parts of the universe, and that raised to a higher power they must be attributes of the loftiest Being of and through whom the whole universe exists. The existence of a spiritual world is the preamble of all religions, and realization of that existence will be a rational consequence of demonstrated survival.

Of course religion has gone further. It looks to the inspiration of saint and prophet for help and guidance among the uncertainties and difficulties of earth-life. It seeks to worship at the shrine of the Holy. Christianity assumes that a specially lofty Being has interacted with matter, and has demonstrated by means of a material body some of the divine attributes, so as to bring them within human cognizance. Thus it is claimed that in spite of all appearances love is the dominant feature, that the whole process of evolution is guided by a beneficent Fatherly purpose, that we are living in the midst of an infinitely complex and beneficent reality, to which there is neither beginning nor end.

If we ask what influence demonstrated-survival may have upon conduct, we are entering the field of ethics, and each must judge for himself what the effect would be if he knew for certain that his own personality, his own character, would continue, that there was no getting away from it, and that it would be either a blessing or a burden for vast epochs of time. On the whole it would seem likely to increase his feeling of responsibility, and might stimulate a desire to learn more of what has been taught by the higher of the sons of men about deep and apparently eternal things. Apart from controversy, the religion of English-speaking communities is Christianity, and Christianity has been described as not so much a doctrine as a life. It is both; but, at any rate, it is a very human form of religion, and has a strong practical bearing. Will an assured scientific knowledge of survival, when it comes, have anything to say about Christianity? Undoubtedly it will. It will make its doctrinal acceptance in many ways much easier. The continued existence and activity of the Redeemer will follow almost as a matter of course. The episode of Incarnation which made the demonstration possible will be always historically important; but its contemplation will be illuminated and completed by the continued action of the Divine Spirit down the ages.

So much has been written about the resurrection of the Central Figure of Christianity that it has become almost tiresome. It is seldom contemplated from the entirely human point of view. It is treated as miraculous

and exceptional; and the survival is supposed to be demonstrated by an empty tomb, as well as by the forty-day appearances. Clerical authorities may be right in contending for a special and exceptional treatment of that one material body : it may be a true instinct which impels them to lay stress on the disappearance of the corpse. But that kind of resurrection is not essential to continued existence, and is not representative of our own immaterial survival. There will be no empty tomb in our case; at least not until we have progressed immeasurably higher as a race. Even that may come. Who is to say? The Gospel occurrence may be an anticipation of something latent in the relation between mind and matter, which only an exceptionally lofty personality can make effective. This may be the full significance of the phrase, " the first fruits of them that slept." But still, even as regards that Central Figure of the Gospels, surely the continuance of activity, here and now and always, is more important than the particular method by which that continuity was secured. The method is of intense interest, but not so essential. The more essential truth is that contained in such sentences as " He ever liveth to make intercession for us "; and again, " My Father worketh hitherto and I work." Even so we shall live and work also. Our birth may be " a sleep and a forgetting," but not our death. Death releases us from the burden of the flesh, introduces us to the glorious company of those who have gone before, and opens out a majestic panorama of love and service.

The essential doctrines of Christianity surely are the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. The two great commandments of the Law are, we are authoritatively told, the love of God and the love of neighbour. These have never been repealed and never will be. Consider the simpler first.

Love of neighbour leads to practical religion. It has given rise to many brotherhoods of artizans for mutual help. These are on the lines of true Christian fellowship. They hold out a helping hand to each other, they seek to aid their members, and they sympathize with distress—indeed they take steps to remedy it. We all keenly appreciate brotherly kindness and sympathy : it always leads to understanding and active help, it cultivates and emphasizes the natural virtues. Members of a brotherhood find no difficulty in keeping their hands from picking and stealing, nor their tongue from evil speaking, lying, and slandering. Their hands are often in their own pockets, and kindly words are often on their tongue, scandal and backbiting are abhorrent. Even at school we do not tell tales about our neighbour. Whatever our failings may be—and doubtless we have many—we have the same hatred of cruelty and injustice that Christ had. Some sins he regarded as pardonable. The sins which he was most specially down upon, those that aroused his deepest indignation and direst curses, are just those that we ourselves abhor. All our corporate brotherly kindness is directed against them.

If only this Second Commandment of love to our neighbour could be introduced into the world broadcast, what a simplification it would be. There would be no more crime; no one would seek to injure another. Love is a fulfilling of the law. And if it could be extended to international relations (for in these days of easy communication nations are perforce much more neighbourly than they ever have been before), international enmity would cease too. The prosperity of each would be the benefit of all. Success in scientific discovery is even now heartily welcomed by the scientific workers of all other nations. Friendliness in some departments has already begun : it has only got to extend. Already there is the begin-

ning of an international parliament at Geneva—"a beam in darkness, let it grow." It rests with us of each generation whether we cultivate and encourage this friendly machinery for discussing and trying to realize what will be for the good of the whole community. Not, as formerly, for the benefit of one family, one tribe, one section, one nation alone, but for the whole race of man on this planet. We have only with all our force to encourage that aim, and God's Kingdom will surely come. When humanity is united in the bonds of brotherly love, God's will will be done on earth by the free agents whom He has brought into being. There will be no more rebellion. We shall realize that His service is the only perfect freedom.

But now a word about the First Commandment. How can we feel a love for God? Is it not presumptuous? It would be, did we not occasionally realize His love for us. We do not always realize it, but it comes over us occasionally, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another. Every now and then we recognize the extraordinary care taken of our dwelling-place, its amazing beauty and adaptation, its fitness for human habitation. Everything seems so beautifully designed. We take a lot of things for granted, because we are so used to them; but things might be so different. The very sunlight is filtered by a recently discovered layer of ozone in the upper atmosphere, so that the deleterious rays of the sun are screened from us, and we only get those that are beneficial. Tons of water are up in the clouds, and might be a danger; but the atmosphere makes it come down in gentle drops. Sunshine and showers are trivial instances: even the animals, " obscurely sentient, blindly glad, feel the dim lust of shower and shine." But we can go further—especially those trained in science—we find beauty and adaptation permeating everything. These and many other experiences appeal to some of us as a sign of loving care, and have led us to feel through our innermost being, in our bones so to speak, that "the great heart of existence is most wonderfully kind."

Things are not yet quite perfect! No, not yet. Evolution has gone far but has not attained completeness. The unconscious has had its day and done its work: now at length *we* enter on the terrestrial scene, and humanity begins its task. The remaining imperfections are mainly such as can come within our own control, if we choose to exert ourselves. We ought to be able to manage the outstanding ravages, say of insects and of disease. Floods and famines can be guarded against. The management of the earth is largely given into our hands. "The earth He hath given to the children of men."

It is no time for ignorance and supineness; the necessary learning and effort are good for us. We could accomplish our task if only we cease from quarrelling and attend to things of real importance. If mankind were always striving to do their best, both as individuals and as communities, their failures might be regarded with a lenient eye, like the mistakes of a child; and the love of the Father would be natural enough.

But we have to admit that both individuals and nations often rebel and go astray and act abominably. How is it possible for a rebellious and troublesome son to be surrounded by the love of a father? Well, think of Absalom. He had rebelled, he had done everything he could think of to alienate and dishonour his father, he had insulted him grievously, and now had taken up arms and was in the field, presumably to seize the throne for himself. He seems to have been an instrument for inflicting divine chastisement upon his unfortunate and long-suffering and repentant father, David. Yet he was loved, and when at the end he was slain in battle, his

death was lamented with an eloquence that sounds down the ages : " O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom ! Would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son !".

Aye, has not this ejaculation rung true in many a parent's heart during the Great War? Can we imagine the love of God for us like that? We are constrained to recognize the love of Christ. As he mourned over Jerusalem, where the ecclesiastics were already plotting his death—" if thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace "—so we can picture him stretching out his hands even to us and saying, " Oh, my son, my son, would God I had died for thee !". And then we remember that he actually did die for us. He did all that was possible to help free responsible creatures, if only they would respond. He revealed to us the human aspect of the Godhead, just as the sunshine is the human aspect of the sun. As the Son of Man he showed us a Divine Spirit full of human kindness.

Well, that is the conception of the Godhead to which I have been led by a study of science in its wider aspects : Christ revealed God to us on earth, as the sunshine reveals the sun. This parable will bear pressing. In spite of our ignorances and perplexities, the outcome of all my studies is the simple but assured conviction that " The Great Heart of Existence is most wonderfully kind."

COMPARATIVE RELIGION AND THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF GOD.

By Principal Thomas Phillips.

A story of a Methodist class meeting brings us to the heart of our subject. An old saint, complaining of his experiences, said : " I sometimes doubt whether I have any religion at all. I think that all I have is a certain amount of good nature." " Don't you worry," said his minister, " if God in making you saved Himself the trouble of re-making you." Heterodoxy if you like, but heterodoxy on the verge of a larger orthodoxy. The Methodist saint, like all of us, needed regeneration, but God in making him had started re-making him. His good nature was the raw material of his religion, and all that had gone before was a preparation for what came after. Christianity is not a patch sewn on a torn garment, but the woof and pattern of the whole fabric. Christianity is not God having another try, not God's second attempt to cover up an initial failure : for " The Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world," and God has been Christian from the start. To reassure the timid, let me quote Saint Augustine : " That which is called the Christian religion existed among the ancients, and never did not exist from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh, at which time the true religion which already existed began to be called Christianity." Both faith and reason kick against Christianity being called an accident or incident, an excrescence or eccentricity. If we could only understand Christianity aright we should get at something which would explain nature and get it out of its groans, explain humanity and get it out of its tangles, and explain all the religions of the world and get them out of the twilight and the fog.

Our subject this morning is the attitude of Christianity towards alien religions. Were it not for a fatal benumbing familiarity, we should consider religion to be the most wonderful thing in the world. It is amazing

when you think of it—to see a few men gather maybe in a barn of a place on Sunday morning, and close their eyes and talk to the Unseen. And this wonder we call religion is universal. It is as much a characteristic of man as climbing is a characteristic of a woodbine. While there is a niche in anthropology for a race without religion, up to the present it is unoccupied. There was a time when evolution came to religion saying, "Explain me or surrender." Now religion comes to evolution and says, "Explain me or acknowledge yourself baffled." The men that explain it away immediately go off to concoct a little substitute of their own. Christianity goes, but Comtism comes instead. The Bible goes, but a "religion without revelation" comes instead. Man may not be incurably, but certainly he is obstinately, religious.

But religion is a relationship—a relationship between man and God. Is it a one-sided relationship? Is man active and God inactive? In reading many of the books on the philosophy of religion one is tempted to believe that God does not count. Religion is altogether man's affair. A man has a spirit and he attributes spirit to the world around him, or if he is cultured he works out a problem in logic, and in his matchbox construction there is a niche which God fits. God is a handy "*x*," which works out his logical algebra. I do not condemn this. Psychology has its place, but in one's search after a religion which is trustworthy one sometimes gets "fed up" with psychology and remembers Troeltsch's tremendous assertion that modern Protestants busy themselves like ants in the hope of finding God at the end of a long process, while Luther toiled like a giant because he had found God—or rather had been found of God—at the start. The part seeks the whole because the whole is seeking the part; man seeks God because God is seeking man. The finite can never reach the Infinite; all that it can do is to take the Infinite for granted and let the Infinite give it purpose and meaning. In "The Celestial Song," Edwin Arnold says that "the dewdrop slips into the shining sea." It is equally true to say that it is the shining sea that slips into the dewdrop, or, to change the illustration, to say that the dewdrop shapes its globule and radiates its loveliness because the sun holds and possesses it. We admit that there would be no Christianity if God had not sought man; but we cannot stop there. We have to admit further that there would have been no religion at all if God did not disturb our clod. In all religion there is a challenge, an approach, a given-ness, a grace. Even in a simple act of perception there is a given-ness, a presenting object, the rudiments of a revelation. The outside world disturbs and claims us. Nay, when perception becomes vivid and intense, as in the case of the poet and the artist, the outside world besieges and woos and wins us. And when the outside object becomes a person and perception grows to be acquaintanceship, the perceived gives as much as the perceiver, and oftentimes more. Indeed, all knowledge and existence are possible because we find ourselves in a world which gives itself to us. Develop the idea and you will see that religion is possible because the God of the whole is unceasingly giving Himself to man. There must be a given-ness. There was a universe before man took to managing it. Before locomotion there was gravitation. Before vision there was light. Before religion there was God. All religion is of grace.

Two books have been published in recent years which support and fortify this contention—*The Threshold of Religion,* by R. R. Marett, and *The Holy,* by Rudolf Otto. The old view of religion was that of animism and ghost worship. Marett suggests that there was a state anterior to this and more fundamental—an awareness of a Something or a Somebody "there," to which he gives the name *Mana,* a term borrowed from the

worship of the Pacific islands. It is significant that this backward religion should supply us with a category which bids fair to reach a universal application. *Mana* is the Something strange and wonderful that is present—a supernatural power outside and above the ordinary workaday world, hovering between the personal and the impersonal, revealing itself in objects and persons that exercise power and effect results—for *Mana* reveals itself alike in the tree and in the hero. One authority renders it as " mystery," another as " contagion," a mysterious presence or power which seeks and infects the lives of men. Magic seeks to use it, but it is not magic that discovers it. It awes and haunts and terrifies. It produces fear and hope. It spells destruction and salvation. In a rudimentary sense it is both destiny and grace. Of course, one has to be careful not to read one's own ideas into this primitive conception. But when Marett is stripped of all scientific terminology, what he really maintains is that when primitive man opens his eyes upon a virginal world he is confronted with what we would call God. Not that *Mana* means all that we mean by God, but God is the only word we have to describe it. To exist is to awake to the existence of God, to live is to awake to the fact that God seeks to relate Himself to ourselves. The explanation of the origin of religion is not ghosts, not spirits, but God and the contagion and intrusion of His Presence. After much groping and bewilderment and knocking of our heads against impenetrable walls, we have most of us come to the same conclusion. We have to take three factors for granted—self, the world, God. I have tried to think myself differently constituted, but my existence brings me down to earth with a thud and a shock. Self exists. Many of us have felt like William Wordsworth, who grasped a gate to know whether it was there or not. But if we take liberty to suppose that there is no outside world, it will soon take drastic measures to remind us of its existence. The world is. And in the same way God is. And, frankly, God is to me as inevitable as the self and the world. I try to explain Him as I try to explain self, and I seem to lose Him. But if I explain self away, I have nothing with which to search; and if I explain God away there is nothing which I can trust.

Otto expresses the same truth in another way. According to him the primary fact in religion is the confrontation of the human mind with a Something whose character is only gradually learned, yet felt from the first as a transcendent Presence, emphatically " the beyond," although also " the within." To this the author gives the name *numinous,* using the Latin *numen* as a general word for supernatural and divine power. It is what Abraham confronted when he exclaimed: " Behold now I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord who am but dust and ashes." It is what Israel saw in the Temple when he cried: " Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts. The whole earth is full of His glory." It is what the Red Indian saw in the great woods. It is what Moses saw at Sinai and Jacob Boehme in the shining pewter, and Kant when he contemplated the starry heavens above and the moral law within. It is not ethical and rational to begin with, but it contains the potentiality of all right ethics and true philosophy. It is a *mysterium tremendum,* an overpowering majesty, at one and the same time the Wrath of God and the Grace of God producing a stupor which is an awakening and an astonishment which is a fascination and a hope. At its highest point of stress the fascination, in Otto's words, becomes an " overabundance," that is, it becomes grace.

Marett and Otto approach the subject from different standpoints, one from the standpoint of anthropology and the other from that of theology, and both come against the same tremendous fact, although Otto does not

attach much value to the theory of *Mana*. Man as man is confronted with a supernatural Power and a mysterious Presence. This power is not inactive or indifferent. It energizes and acts. It may destroy, but it certainly helps. It is the tremendous Lover described by Francis Thompson in " The Hound of Heaven."

Now, does the study of comparative religion justify such an assumption? I think it does. Let us take a cursory glance at some of the chief faiths and note how this Something or Somebody seeks man through the senses, through the processes of thought, through his moral valuations and mystic intuitions. To begin with, let us take the nature religions. Most of us who have been brought up in the country can remember occasions when meadow grove and stream, the earth and every common sight, came to us apparelled in celestial light, with the glory and the freshness of a dream—green shoots peeping out of the earth, clear water coming out of the rock, something moving in the trees. Personally these are the most vivid spiritual experiences I have known—*vivid* advisedly, not rich or profound. I dare say I was a polytheist, but I did not know that either monotheism or polytheism existed. It was a living Something evoking my wonder. It is in the light of that experience that I try to understand the ancient Hindus and their Vedic hymns, the Japanese and their wonder and joy at Amritsaru, the goddess of the sunlight, the Greeks and their discovery of the Dryads and the Naiads and old Triton blowing his wreathed horn. Ewald says that the historian needs two qualifications, scientific accuracy and divination. In the study of ethnic religions I plead for divination, not only the art of recording their facts and repeating their terminology but of re-living their spirit, of becoming Greek and Hindu and Red Indian for the time being. A volume on comparative religion ought not to be a catalogue of the dried specimens of a theological herbarium, but a book as vital as a biography and as interesting as a romance, and at the same time as accurate as a scientific investigation. If we take the Vedic hymns and re-live the lives of the Hindu highlanders who sang them, we are, like them, arrested by the gleam of the fire and the shining of Agni, by Indra, the rain god, who gives fertility to the soil and greenness to the grass, by Varuna, the all-embracing sky, the far-sighted and thousand-eyed who knows all the winkings of men's eyelids. I know all that can be said against the Vedic religion. It tended to be selfish, it relied upon magic, and it was already degenerating into bare ritualism; but, strangely enough, that is the tendency of Christianity to-day. But, Aryan soul, " with all thy faults I love thee still," for to thee there came something bigger than thyself, something to adore, something to create the need for forgiveness. To thee the world was something more than slag and refuse. It held Presences who sought thy soul. It was full of the Shining Ones, although thou wert slow in seeing that all the shining rays came from the One Sun.

Lately I read two books at the same time—a novel by Fiona Macleod, the Highland mystic, and a book on Hindu religion by Dr. Sydney Cave—and in some things the novelist was very like the theologian. Fiona Macleod asks Seumas what he thinks of the elements. " Fire is God's touch, and light is God Himself, and water is the mother of life." " Every morning," Seumas adds, " I take off my hat to the beauty of the whole world." Seumas could have composed some of the Vedic hymns, and is a true picture of a soul responsive to the Power who seeks man in nature. Our life has become too artificial. We have lost much of God through giving ourselves to the building of Babels. But the hum of factories and the clatter of tramcars cannot silence the appeals of God's world. Paul states a fundamental truth of comparative religion when he declares: " The in-

visible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal Power and Godhead." There is a Power that energizes and a Godhead which functions in nature, and all the nature religions feel the pressure of the Power and obtain a glimpse of the glory of the Godhead.

Look next at the religions of thought. No man can truly think without consciously or unconsciously being invaded by God. I have pointed out already that every perception is a potential revelation. But what astonishes me more is that I have any perception at all how the undulations of the air and the tremors of a nerve become a strain of music. There must be a great Musician at the other end of the telephone and in control of the instrument who wants to get His message through. I am aware that my perception is often faulty and my interpretation often wrong, but I cannot escape the conclusion that I see and know by the Holy Ghost. "I did not whistle," said the London urchin, "it whistled of itself." I do not think it is God Who seeks me through the objects that impinge upon me. It is God Who urges me to seek the objects that approach me—"it thinks of itself." To illustrate, let me take my favourite ethnic religion—Taoism, the Quakerism of the East. Taoism and Quakerism are my favourite religions, and I am impatient with both because they are so circumscribed in their range and influence. Lâo-tsze, "the old boy," as the Chinese call him, was a great soul, and he, together with Chuang-tsze, are unconventional thinkers who in their thinking meet the thinking, seeking God. He thinks and gets into the Way, the Tao. He finds that the Tao is doing everything while he seems to do nothing. He struggles to get at the Tao and fails. He gives up struggling and the Tao comes to him. He cannot define Him, but he cannot escape Him. He who knows Tao does not care to speak about Him, and he who is ready to speak about Him does not know Him. Tao is all-pervading and all-intruding, for He is not too small for the greatest nor too great for the smallest, and so immanent is He that there is nothing greater than the tip of an autumn spikelet. As a vast enclosure, the boundaries of which cannot be seen; as a great vessel, the dimensions of which cannot be gauged; as a deep and mighty voice from which the rarest words escape, as a great figure without form and void, stands before us He who has no name. But it is by Him that all goodness is bestowed and perfected. He is the All Father, and a mother also. By effort we fail; by worry we become miserable; but by placing our lives like clay in the hands of the potter, without consciousness we shall know, without seeing we shall see, and without definite action we shall accomplish all things. It is useless to quarrell about the correct translation of Tao or to discuss whether Lâo-tsze thought of Him as personal or impersonal. Very likely the distinction never suggested itself to his mind. We know what he saw. We know the Reality that was challenging and wooing him. We, too, have looked out at a sunlit sea and known that there was Someone inviting and yet eluding us. We have entered into a forest and have felt that we were disturbing Someone who yet made us welcome. We have looked up at a clear night of stars and felt that the sanctuary was full. We cannot face the universe and think without knowing that we are in great company. We do not want to talk much. It is enough to worship and receive.

But many centuries before the days of Lâo-tsze the forest saints of the Upanishads had been thinking so earnestly about God as to think Him unthinkable, as to conceive Him as the inaccessible Brahma, the Absolute beyond all thought. This is great—to think until all thinking seems futile. Their forefathers had seen the *devas,* the shining presences in nature, the

scattered beams of the great sun, but their children dared to look at the sun itself and the sun blinded them. They thought of God until His greatness overpowered and paralyzed them. There was nothing else besides God. Brahma was all and everything else was *maya* or illusion. But out of this darkness visible there emerged one beam of cheering light. They looked out upon the mystery, and although they could not understand it they had the courage to say : " That—whatever it is—art Thou, the self." We may demur at such a philosophy, but there is a rich religion behind it. The theory puzzles us as the Athanasian creed puzzles us, but our Lord and His disciples did not win the world by the Athanasian creed, and these Indian saints did not reach peace of soul by means of the formulæ recorded in our books of comparative religion. Men are not theologians when they are saints. Theology is a learned account of a simple process of the soul that has already taken place. What, then, was the soul process behind the courageous saying : " That art Thou "?. I believe it was something like this. The Hindu looked out upon the world and saw Brahma, saw God. Then he remembered himself, and it dawned upon him that not only was God without but God within. The God Who filled the earth and the heavens had not left the soul of man unvisited. " God has come to me." Ultimately it took the form, " God is me," but I think that this was the ultimate theology and not the first simple spontaneous religious experience. To say " That art Thou " is to put it badly, but it is to put a good thing badly. The *Mana* not only operates without but also within life. To think God is to have God thinking in you. I remember several years ago being greatly puzzled by a saying of Eckhart : " The eye by which I see God is the eye of God Himself." I did not believe it then, but ten years have convinced me of its truth, and now I dare believe that when I contemplate God the Holy Spirit is working in my mind. It is not a mere idea of God that I experience, but a mode of the Divine activity in my soul. I am not sure that this was not the way in which the Hindu arrived at his conception of Brahma, for Deussen maintains that the root of Brahma is prayer. A man prayed—got into the right attitude to God—and the outside world faded away as an illusion, and God shaped Himself within the mind as a boundless, nameless, Infinite—an infinite void which was also an infinite Reality. It is true to say that it is a man who is praying, but it is more true to say that it is God who is praying in man, making the prayers He Himself is going to answer. It is true to say man thinks, but his part is a small fraction of the process. Taoism and Brahmanism, which I have ventured to call the religions of thought, show the *Mana* appearing as mind, show the *mysterium tremendum* appearing as wonder, show God getting at man through thinking. Man cannot help thinking about God; he does so inevitably, by a kind of fated necessity. But it is evident that he cannot know God or think profitably about God contrary to God's will. It is God who communicates thoughts about Himself. So " two wonders I confess "—that man can think about God at all, and that in all these gropings and ponderings God Himself is at work seeking to make Himself known to man.

Then there is the *Mana* as conscience. Not only as the starry heavens without but as the moral law within, not only the facts of nature and the laws of thought but the values of the moral life. Our thoughts turn at once to Confucius, and especially to Buddha. What impresses me most about Buddha is his discovery of a moral and universal order. Selfishness and misery, selflessness and bliss, are linked together as cause and effect, as sequence and consequence. In Buddhism God gives India a great uplift. It is true that Buddha turned his back on Brahma, but better a moral order without Brahma than Brahma without a moral order. The

moral law was more to Kant than God was to the Deists, and the moral order was more of a divine reality to Buddha than Brahma was to his predecessors. God comes nearer to man through his conscience than either through his thought or his wonder. We start with our perceptions of the world and then proceed to rectify them with our conceptions. Why not dare to go one step further, and say that we must rectify our conceptions by the demands of our moral nature? We need the totality of our souls to offer hospitality to God, and it is vain to maintain that God sought man through the *devas* of the Vedic saints and the Tao of Lâo-tsze and not through the moral order of Buddha. But the difficulty comes from the apparent absence of grace in the promulgation of law. But there is no surer way of discovering grace than through preaching ethics—as the history of Buddhism conclusively proves. It started as the Hinayana doctrine, with no God and its rigorous eightfold path. It developed to be the Mahayana doctrine with God and grace and faith, and with books of doctrine like the *Awakening of Faith,* which have been mistaken by Christian missionaries for Christian productions. If you obey the King's regulations on the outskirts of the King's dominion, sooner or later you will want to see the King face to face.

I have only given you a series of fugitive glimpses to show how in all ages and all lands men are confronted with a supernatural *Mana,* a *mysterium tremendum,* and how every religion is an experience of this. Men see it, worship it, receive it, raise themselves by means of it. This connects the religion of the Polynesian islander with the loftiest mysticism and the keenest cosmic consciousness. We think of the mystics either as psychological freaks or as spiritual aristocrats. They are nothing of the kind. They are simply men who have seen the Presence. Mysticism is immediate awareness of the *Mana,* and is the feature at the root of all religions. I read a heavy book the other day by Mr. G. D. Bucke on *The Cosmic Consciousness.* The author thinks that the three steps in human development are simple consciousness, self consciousness, and cosmic consciousness. We are aware that we exist, we are aware that we are ourselves, and we become aware that we can be one with the whole. He tells us that only about fifty people in the world's history have reached this ripest stage. They have seen the Brahmanic splendour, they have realized that the whole is working through the part. I am too much of a democrat to take it all in. " Cosmic consciousness " is for everybody. The whole has been there from the start, although men have only seen fragments of it. The Brahmanic splendour has shone from the dim years of the past, although men have only seen glimpses of it. God has left no nation to themselves. He made man in His own image and has sought him ever since. Through the world around him, through the very processes of thinking and living, through the moral law, through failure and through achievement, God has sought to give Himself to man. Man has misinterpreted, contorted, despised the gift—as he has done in the case of the Christian revelation. Man in his littleness has received little, and he has used that little badly. Still, the history of religion is the history of God seeking man more than the history of man seeking God.

Religion thus becomes a world process, and Christianity is its consummation and explanation. The *Mana* that stirred the soul of the savage is seen to be the Glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. The *mysterium tremendum* is seen in the Cross of our Lord in a moral splendour which shines sin out of existence. The elusive Tao is seen in the every-day ways of a human life. The unity that binds object and subject is seen in a subject which completely surrenders itself to the object and realizes itself to the

utmost and at the same time realizes the object. Utter self-surrender is seen to be utmost self-realization. The moral order is seen to be love. All is love and all is law. The decency of the universe is maintained not by Karma but by grace. Mysticism is the awareness that comes by faith in the Lord Jesus and in the experience of eternal life, and cosmic consciousness becomes the indwelling of the Holy Ghost.

Did our Aryan ancestors make a mistake in seeing radiant presences in nature? No, they all saw fleeting glimpses of Him. I have looked at a bleak, stark, cold hill-side in the Yorkshire highlands and wondered why it was there, until, in my mind's eye, I saw the face of Jesus Christ formed by the rocks and the boulders : say what you will, the faith of man will not rest content with anything less than the conviction that the Something that was in Jesus is the Something that is at the heart of the universe. Was Lâo-tsze wrong in deciphering a Providence behind Life which was doing everything, although it appeared to be doing nothing at all, and in calling it the All Father? No, for he saw the outskirts of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and dimly divined that all things work together for good to them that love God. Were the Upanishad saints on the wrong track when they saw that " That art Thou "? No, they dimly anticipated the Incarnate Son in Whom That was Thou. Was Buddha wrong in seeing that sin spelled misery and that sin unended meant endless misery? Was he wrong in seeing a moral order that could never be violated? No; he was only wrong in not seeing that a moral order is moral only as it ends sin and not merely punishes it. If he had only seen a moral Orderer above the moral order he would have seen not only Karma but grace—he would have seen a Personality at grips with sin, conquering it and forgiving it. To punish sin is not to conquer it, for a sinful world might sink into perdition with all its flags flying. The only way to end sin is to condemn it and yet forgive it.

This contention is confirmed because the march and the growth of these religions is in the direction of Christianity. Buddhism started as a moral regime; it ended as the religion of faith and grace. Brahmanism started with the Absolute, but it ended with the Incarnation—or something very much like the Incarnation. Its speculation and asceticism ended in faith and love. Mahommedanism started with Allah, the dreaded and alone, but it developed into Shiaism with its incarnations and into Sufism with its grace and love. In the case of many of the great religions there seems to be a power within them, urging them in the direction of the Christian attitude.

This way of looking at things gives unity to the world and reveals a Providence that shapes the ends of men in spite of all their blundering rough-hewing. It gives a new meaning and purpose to all the ethnic faiths and discovers a greater glory in Christianity than the old view suspected. A Christianity that is nervous of any other religion is not a Christianity which we can respect and reverence. I am not afraid of digging in any mine to find diamonds to crown our Lord Jesus Christ. I study all the religions, and as a result find His religion greater than ever. He is great as the Saviour of men, but He appears greater as the Saviour of all religions. The Incarnation becomes a more glorious event as I extend its influence to all time and space. Great is the mystery of godliness—God appeared in the flesh, God came in Jesus. Yes, but He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. He has been always coming. He comes, comes, always comes. His attitude towards men everywhere has been the attitude of a glorious approach. The Atonement becomes Eternal. The Lamb is slain before the foundation of the world. The Cross, the greatest

event of history, becomes a window through which we see into the heart of God. God has always been bearing the sins of men. God has always been substituting Himself for their frailty and transgression. God has always been the God of Calvary and the Cross.

> In the Cross of Christ I glory,
> Towering o'er the wrecks of time:
> All the light of *human* story
> Gathers round its head sublime.

Grace is not something which came into the world in the time of the Apostle Paul. The Good Shepherd has never been absent from the sheep, whether they shelter in the fold or wander in the wilderness. There has always been more given-ness than receptivity. There is grace in the air that men breathe and in the food which they eat. There is grace in the objects which they perceive and in the moral law which has guided their paths, and, if we are to believe the Apostle Paul, there is grace in the wrath of God which punishes their sin. There is grace in *Mana,* grace in Tao, grace in Karma, but in Jesus Christ that grace came to the front of the stage of history. *In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life and the life was the light of men. He was the True Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world*—always in the world—*and the world was made by Him and the world knew Him not.* But the crowning explanation and illumination came when the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us full of grace and revealing reality, and we beheld His glory as of the unique revelation of God, the only begotten of the Father.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST AS DETERMINING OUR IDEA OF GOD.

By Dr. C. J. Cadoux.

In re-examining our doctrine of God, we shall do well to begin with the oft-ignored distinction between the root of that doctrine in faith and the development of it by rational thought. It has to be maintained that the ultimate basis of man's knowledge of God consists in that act of trust or self-commitment whereby, in pursuing the truest and noblest things he sees, he discerns at the heart and on the throne of the universe One Who is supremely true and noble. "God," said Augustine, "is . . . the native-land of the Soul." Faith in Him is not a rational deduction from previously collected and analyzed data, but the grand presupposition of all right use of all data. Unless the root of faith were already planted within us, manifesting its presence in our sureness of the majesty of truth and right, we should see no sense in rational arguments about God. The true function of all arguments for the existence of God is not to create belief in Him, but to assist in the right development of a belief already sown in the very tissues of our humanity.

In the same way it is not a correct form in which to voice our deep indebtedness to Jesus Christ to say that apart from Him we have no assurance of God or no real knowledge about Him. We shall discuss later the important truth in the minds of those who so speak: but at the moment

the speech itself must be challenged. With all due respect to Wilhelm Herrmann, the Hebrew Psalms—apart from any other evidence—are a proof of its inaccuracy. Paul—the last man to be accused of underestimating the work of Christ—was convinced that, even among the heathen who had never known Christ, God had not left Himself without a witness (*Acts* 14[17]). The truths which Jesus turns into current coin are already there, perceptible—however darkly joined and deeply seated—in our mystic frame.

Having thus reminded ourselves of the priority of faith to philosophy on the one hand, and to history on the other, we are under obligation to acknowledge the vital importance of faith's development in doctrine. No profit lies in discussing whether faith or doctrine is the more important. It is a waste of time debating whether the root of the tree is more important than its leaves, or vice versa. Suffice it to say that the root must be acknowledged as the root, and that root and leaves are interdependent. Hence we are forced forward to consider the idea of God as it may be developed in various ways on the basis of what faith affirms. Our concern in doing this is to discover how the Person of Jesus Christ determines our idea of God. We must therefore endeavour first to see how far a doctrine of God can be reached apart from Jesus Christ, *i.e.*, through philosophy, physical science, and non-Christian religions.

Imperfectly disciplined as I am in philosophical study, I yet hazard the statement that *philosophy* cannot be said to have "proved" the existence and character of God. There does not, indeed, seem to be sufficient unanimity among the philosophers to allow us to say that philosophy has "proved" anything, in the sense in which we can say that astronomy has proved the existence of nebulae, or history the existence of William the Conqueror, or food-science the existence of vitamines. Apart from that, it is—as we have seen—not to be expected that philosophy of itself should be able to create belief in God. All the same, both the right and the duty are ours of dealing philosophically with the data of experience, including religious and moral experience. Confining itself, then, to the implications of human thinking and of the human sense of duty, philosophy leads us towards the recognition—dim yet compelling—of a Being that is One (and so able to give the unity we desire to the world of our experience), Spiritual (and so able to justify the transcendence of thought and life over matter and mechanism), Infinite (and so able to deal with man's discontent at his limitations), Real (and so furnishing, in the nature of things as they are, an objective universe of truth), and lastly Good (thus providing, in a great hierarchy of values, an objective moral law). To have to ascribe moral goodness to this Being points to His being personal: but precisely in what sense He is personal, and how exactly He is to be related to that philosophical Absolute which is pure Being, unqualified and undetermined by any special characteristics or relations—are questions upon which pure philosophy cannot satisfy us.

If the existence of such a Being be acknowledged, and the name "God" be provisionally accepted to designate Him, or It, we may proceed to observe that *physical science* exhibits to us the immanence, purposiveness, and wisdom of God. The God of Nature adapts means to ends, and displays infinite resourcefulness in so doing. If philosophy advances the ontological argument, science gives us the teleological argument. Above all, science reveals to us the rigid regularity of God's ways in the realm of nature. I make this point in fear and trembling, especially in the city where the

theories of Einstein reign and where Professor Eddington's throne is. Alarming rumours are abroad to the effect that the old conception of the constancy of Nature's Laws is discredited, and that the Universe does just what it wants to.

> "I am not worthy ev'n to speak
> Of these prevailing mysteries."

At the same time, pending further information, I cannot but feel tolerably sure that two and two really do make four, and will continue to do so for some considerable time, and that if I throw myself out of my top bedroom window I shall get badly hurt. Even Einstein and Eddington must be dependent on the reliability of the laws of thought and of mathematics at least: and whatever they have proved about the physical universe, the fact remains that, over vast realms of experience, Nature shows us a God who operates through a system of laws that are never broken.

When we turn from philosophy and science to *the history of religion,* we can for practical purposes take Judaism as displaying in the best form the religious possibilities open to non-Christian man. This method may seem to ignore our traditional belief in Israel's claim to be put in a special category. But the idea of a Divine revelation to Israel, such as implies that God was not endeavouring to do for the heathen what He was doing for Israel, is alien from our modern habits of thought. Moreover, it is an inference drawn by us only after comparing Israel's religion with that of the Gentile nations. In any case, for our immediate purpose Judaism and the ethnic religions can be taken together. The universality of religion can hardly be said to "prove" anything very concrete about God; but it does point in the direction of some reality that answers the universal and persistent religious cravings of man. And furthermore, the purest and best beliefs of Judaism—harmonizing in large measure as they do with the conclusions of philosophy and science, and with the utterances of faith—warrant belief in the existence of such a God as they portray—One God, not only immanent in the world, but transcendent over it, not only purposive but personal, not only morally good, but claiming and blessing every man. It is true that Judaism was a very rationalistic religion, and it had little or no science in our sense of the word. It did not think of God's judgments as operating through the fixity of natural laws: every process of nature was His deliberate act, and His penalties were inflicted by calamities sent *ad hoc,* either through the violence of nature, or through mishap, or through human vengeance. All the same, Yahweh was the God of all mankind: His presence in Nature was all-pervasive, and His relations with men personal and moral. And if the moral judgments were crudely conceived, this was in part balanced by a wonderful sense of God's personal tenderness. According to Hosea, Yahweh loves Ephraim so passionately that he cannot bear to give him up to judgment (*Hos.* 11^{8f}). According to Jeremiah, He gets up early in the morning to send His prophets to Judah (*Jer.* 7^{25}, *etc., etc.*). According to Deutero-Isaiah, He is made to serve as a slave by the sins of His people (*Isa.* 43^{23f}). According to the Psalmists, He pities those that fear Him like as a father pities his children (103^{13}), and daily bears their burden (68^{19}). This thought of the Divine stooping to suffer for and to redeem the human is not peculiar to Judaism: the Hindu believes much the same of Siva and Krishna. It represents the high-water-mark of the non-Christian tide, and just stops short of convincing men that self-sacrificing love for sinners is God's essential way, and therefore also the noblest way for men in their dealings with each other.

We are now in a position to ask, How is our idea of God affected by *Jesus Christ?* In trying to answer this question, we shall find it best to state, first, the data regarding Him, and then to discuss their significance for doctrine.

The data consist, in the *first* place, of the critically sifted records of His life and teaching. The chief point that concerns us under this heading is to insist on the possibility of obtaining a picture of the real Jesus by dint of a candid and truth-loving criticism. This central position—broadly that of the German Liberal school, modified by a franker recognition of the apocalyptic element in the Gospels—has still to be defended against the extremists on both wings. For though we may flatter ourselves that neither the Christ-myth-sceptic, nor the literal-minded Fundamentalist, needs any longer to be taken seriously, we still have to answer Dr. Bultmann on the one hand and Dr. Cairns on the other. Dr. Bultmann and others of the " Formgeschichte " school deny the historical value of the whole frame-work in which the Gospel-stories are set, and seem to regard any close similarity between a recorded deed of Jesus and a wonder-story in contemporary literature, as sufficient reason for pronouncing the Gospel-story untrue—a palpably illogical proceeding. On the other hand, Dr. Cairns triumphantly proves that the miracles of Jesus must not be ruled out *a priori,* but takes no account whatever of the fact that the two oldest Gospel-documents—Q and Proto-Luke—do not contain a single nature-miracle (as distinct from healings), and that later Gospels, particularly *Matthew,* contain obvious traces of the fictitious enlargement of the miraculous element. Herrmann again argues that no purely historical results can be absolutely certain; yet that the story of Jesus so lays hold of us that it carries with it the evidence of its own historical certainty. If this means that it is inherently unlikely that so dominating a figure as that of Jesus could be fictitiously produced, well and good: only the fact is capable of simpler statement. If it means more than this, it is merely a pious fancy; for no inner religious experience to-day can prove that any particular event of the past certainly happened. Reliable knowledge of the history of Jesus is available for those who will forswear all " praejudicia " and accept the limitations imposed by all historical research. It would be futile to attempt to sketch or summarize here the life and character of Jesus. In broad outline it is familiar to us all; and we must content ourselves with saying that " the more truly and realistically we know the historical personality of Jesus the more the love of him contrains us."[1]

This last observation brings us to the *second* half of our data, I mean, our sentiments towards Him, or what is usually known as the Christian " experience " of Jesus. It has been rightly argued that, beside the record of His actual life on earth, the impression made by Him upon His followers in every century since the first, forms a most important part of the facts to be explained.[2] That impression is hard to summarize satisfactorily. It has been described as an impression of divinity, as a belief that Jesus has the religious value of God. Without searching now for the precise phrase in which to describe best His dominating and undiminishing influence, let us try to analyze the experience men have had of Him into its component elements.

First, we have the simple acceptance of His religious teaching as true

1 E. W. Lyman in *Journ. of Relig.,* Apl., 1929, 203.

2 *Cf.* C. W. Emmett in *The Modern Churchman,* Sept., 1921, 214.

and of His ethical teaching as authoritative, and the keen desire to obey His teaching and to copy His moral example. It is usual to criticize this attitude to Jesus as being shortsighted almost to the point of irreligion: but such criticism overlooks the important difference between a loved and obeyed example and teaching, on the one hand, and a courteously ignored example and teaching, on the other. What does it signify that this particular example, this particular teaching, is loved and followed so passionately? It is needful indeed for the Tolstoyan to try to answer this question: it is also needful for his orthodox critic to recognize how much doctrine is already implicit in the Tolstoyan's unsophisticated zeal.

Secondly, therefore, we find given through Jesus to the receptive an overwhelming awareness of God that takes them clean beyond all dependence on purely intellectual argument. Jesus being what He was, man knows that faith's affirmation of God's existence and goodness is no delusion, but the heart of all truth. With that sureness comes man's consciousness of sin and weakness, and the trust that on his repentance God can and will forgive the sin and remove the weakness. The contemplation of the heroism and the martyrdom of Jesus subdues man's pride and brings him, in chastened humility, to his knees before God. "The blood of Christ," as Clement of Rome wrote (7[4]), " . . . being poured out for the sake of our salvation, offered to the whole world the grace of repentance." Upon repentance supervene forgiveness given and received, liberation from the sense of guilt, endowment with moral clearsightedness and power, and a growing experience of communion with God. It is normally assumed that, in the case of the first Christians, all this was effected primarily by the Resurrection and could not have been effected without it. This is true so far that, without something to assure them that their Master had, through death, entered upon a higher and more triumphant life, they would probably have been crushed by the tragedy that had befallen them. But if the visible tokens of the Resurrection must be regarded as the sole decisive factor, then their religion must have depended upon exactly the kind of "sign" which Jesus refused to give to the Jews. Those who would not have believed having Moses and the Prophets, would not have believed though one should rise to them from the dead; and blessed was he who believed without seeing. Essential to the whole saving process—both for them and for us—is the conscious or subconscious homage of the heart to the moral nobility of Jesus.

But, in the third place, what of the Person through Whom these miracles are wrought? Christian thought and sentiment are not content to treat Him simply as a means to an end. The mere willingness to accept His teaching as authoritative would exclude such a treatment of Him. For, however obscure in their precise details His thoughts about Himself may be, however historically untrue it is to read back Nicene and Chalcedonian teaching into the Synoptic Gospels, yet the fact remains that, in claiming Messiahship, in referring to Himself as "the Son of Man," and still more as simply "the Son," Jesus did point men to Himself and did put Himself, in some real sense, in the centre of the picture. This claim to personal supremacy has been eagerly acknowledged by His followers from the first. Even those who never saw Him, love Him (*I Pet.* 1[8]); they wait, with pathetic longing, for His parousia (*Rev.* 22[20]). From finding God through Jesus it is but a short step to finding God in Him. To faith, God and Jesus signify the same thing: to trust Jesus is to trust God. To confess this is surely to predicate true divinity of Him.

A climax is reached in the fourth distinguishable element in the Christian experience of Jesus—I mean the quasi-mystic sense of His immediate

presence here and now as the Risen and Living Christ. It is a matter of history that not only Paul, but the man who compiled the Fourth Gospel, and many Christian saints down the ages, in particular the leading spirits of the Methodist revival, went through certain experiences which they could interpret only as the very presence of Jesus Christ Himself (distinguishable from God the Father) with them. We reverently note the facts as of vital importance for our subject. We must presume that the concordant testimony of so many has a real objective basis. Even a belief in the immortality of the soul encourages us to expect that the Jesus who passed away from the earth would still minister to those on earth who need Him and seek Him. Yet several facts make it difficult for us to be clear on the point. To begin with, this experience is often most loosely and grievously confused with quite other things. It is, for instance, confused with the sense of receiving moral support and other spiritual blessings from thoughts about the historical record of Jesus' life. It is confused with the sense of being impelled by the "Spirit" of Jesus, *i.e.*, by a strong desire to resemble Him in "spirit" or disposition. It is confused with the compliant acceptance of the Church's dogma about the Risen Christ. Again, if the usual explanation of the experience be correct, a distinguishable acquaintance with Christ ought to have no necessary connexion with knowledge of the Gospel-story, whereas—in point of fact—it seems definitely dependent on that story: without knowing the Gospels, no one would ever have claimed that he had had intercourse with Christ, as distinguished from God. Again, the language of Paul and of the Fourth Gospel, as well as many modern interpretations, either imply or explicitly declare that this experience of the personal presence of Christ is identical with the experience of communion with God: if this be so, one must ask, what objective fact corresponds to and accounts for those special features that require the experience to be called, in certain cases, communion with Christ rather than God, and why are these conditions present, not in the case of all who deserve and desire them, but only in the case of a selected few? Moreover, there are to be found in pagan, and even in modern, literature allusions to the helpful recollection of the noble heroes of the past, and even to consorting with them in the present, which come very near the language used by many Christians about the presence of Jesus in their lives. All this indicates how cautious we must be in dogmatizing, either positively or negatively, on this sacred theme.

Having thus endeavoured to sketch the data regarding the Person of Christ, we proceed to enquire as to the *immediate significance* of these data for our idea of God.

The first and most obvious significance is this: that the God Whom Jesus believed in and communed with and spoke of is our God. We are constrained to believe as Jesus believed. His belief about God is best described as a lofty Jewish theism, based upon the ripest and noblest teachings of His race, and characterized by special emphasis at certain points. The suggestion that His belief about God was Jewish theism may sound irreverent or inaccurate to some: but the fact remains that virtually every element in His doctrine (not excluding the Divine Fatherhood and love) can be paralleled in pre-Christian Jewish literature. His originality lay, not in introducing teaching about God that was new in substance, but partly in concentrating emphasis on certain aspects of the old teaching, and partly in constraining men to take that emphasis seriously.

The God of Jesus then is the one supreme, almighty, and righteous Master of the Universe. There are no limits (other than those imposed by

Himself) to His power and goodness. He is very distinctly a Person. As the God of the Old Testament, He stands in a special relationship to the Jewish people : yet as the Creator and Sustainer of the World, He is the God of all mankind : the universal scope of His Providence is clearly indicated in Jesus' teaching. His purpose is to establish His Kingdom of righteousness on earth ; and with the blessings and responsibilities of that Kingdom it is the prime business of every man to concern himself.

It has been often and truly urged that Jesus summed up His doctrine of God in the gracious title " the Father Who is in heaven." It would, however, be an error to suppose either that this designation of God was first used by Him, or that the human analogy which it suggests runs (any more than analogies usually do) on all fours. Especially is this latter caution necessary in view of the difference between that age and our own in the connotation given to the term " father." We may note at least two features in Jesus' doctrine of God which might be obscured by a too exclusive emphasis on the name of " Father " in its modern sense.

Firstly, *God's terrific majesty and severity.* His Name is to be kept holy : neither His heavenly throne, nor the earth, His footstool, nor His city is to be used in an oath : blasphemy against His holy Spirit is unpardonable : He is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna. Not only is He the sole object of men's worship ; He is the object also of their fear. His punishments are depicted under the most appalling images :— outer darkness, weeping and grinding of teeth, scourging and " cutting asunder," imprisonment and torture, burning and execution. No doubt, allowance must be made—in studying this teaching—for the pictorial element in the parables, for the influence of Jewish beliefs on the mind of Jesus Who had been educated in them, and for possible exaggeration of the darker side of things in certain of the Gospel-documents : but the broad fact of Jesus' belief in God's severity in punishment stands out clearly. Nor is it in punishment only that He is severe. He is the supreme lord of a Universe in which sparrows are brought to the ground, men crushed by falling towers, prophets persecuted and crucified, fire and sword cast on the earth by His Messiah, and rebel Jews massacred by victorious Romans. We moderns should want to emend the deterministic and possibly some other features in the language in which all this is conveyed : but we should be merely superficial investigators if we shut our eyes to the realities reflected in this side of our Lord's teaching. God has set us in a world where, alongside of our freedom, there reigns a vast system of laws—laws affecting the behaviour not of matter only, but also of mind and feeling. These laws are on the whole beneficent ; but certain combinations of circumstances render them extremely painful to individuals, and when such circumstances arise, the law has to have its effect, be the cost to us what it may. God has made us sentient beings : fire burns us, water drowns, iron cuts, disease-germs infect and torture us. We are sentient not only physically, but psychologically : we are the victims of a thousand mental pains—

> " the whips and scorns of time,
> The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
> The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
> The insolence of office and the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes."

God exposes us defenceless to the cruelty of our enemies, to the hardly less grievous unkindness of our friends, and to the sting of our own offended consciences. It is no answer to say that God does not will us to incur these sufferings : if He creates us so that we are bound to suffer them should

certain circumstances arise, then He does will them *contingently,* and that can only be called severe dealing. Whether such sufferings are incurred by the incidence of natural law (as by the mother when she bears her child), or as the result or punishment of our own ignorance or wrongdoing, or by the judicial sentence of society, or by the cruelty of foes or the thoughtlessness of friends or the sin of those we love, or simply by the circumstances in which we have to pursue our moral ideals—they bear witness to the severity of Him who framed the universe in which discipline such as this becomes possible.

There is a second aspect of the being of God, not emphasized (in fact, almost overlooked) by Judaism, not immediately suggested by the title "Our Father," and not obtruded in Jesus' teaching, but very definitely implied in that teaching and forced upon us by the necessities of thought: I mean *the immanence of God in Nature and in Man.* Jesus clearly assumed that God was omnipresent and omniscient. He clothes the flowers and feeds the birds, raises up the sun and sends down the rain; it is by His finger that demons are cast out; it is by His Spirit that the prophet writes, and the persecuted Christian makes his defence; the Spirit descends into Jesus Himself and makes Him conscious of Messiahship. The very conception of God and man as Father and son excludes the idea of a total unlikeness of nature between them, while the tacit assumption that man's best moral convictions truly reveal the character of God bears witness to the presence of a Divine element in man. If all this be true, then—Bible-anthropomorphisms notwithstanding—God's being is in some sense inclusive of ours as well as "deeply interfused" through the world. God is not separated from us in the sense in which we are separated from one another. If we mean what we say when we sing that

> "every virtue we possess,
> And every victory won,
> And every thought of holiness
> Are His alone,"

then Wordsworth was quite right when in prayer he spoke of men as

> "the blessed spirits,
> Whom Thou includest, as the sea her waves."

One very vital corollary of God's immanence in man is that, for the determination of truth, there can be no appeal for a man beyond the utterance of God's Spirit in his own mind and heart. Jesus implies this in His constant appeal to His hearers to test for themselves the truth of His teachings. The possession of this inward test does not guarantee infallibility; for it is qualified by an incalculable "personal equation." Nor does it dispense with the need of objective teaching from others who know more than we do: but it entitles us to choose our own teachers, and is our sole ultimate justification for bowing to Jesus' authority; it entitles us to check His teaching in the way He Himself suggested, and thus to sift out the eternally valid truths in it from the shells of contemporary thought-forms in which they are conveyed to us; and it entitles us, and us alone, to declare when we have found the truth.

Proceeding now with the significance of our data for our idea of God, we come upon the great and capital fact of *His infinite love for men.* The love of God for men is not mentioned in so many words in the Synoptic Gospels, but it is taught in substance everywhere. The heavenly Father feeds and clothes His children, blesses good and evil alike with sunshine

and rain, knows what we need before we ask Him, gives good gifts in response to prayer, sustains us not with bread alone but with the words of His mouth, provides the Sabbath, the Temple, Moses, and the Prophets, fills those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, reveals Himself to the simple and pure in heart, freely forgives the penitent for his sins, freely gives the Kingdom to those who will receive it, helps them in persecution and distress, and crowns them at last with heavenly rewards. The significant thing about this teaching is not that it was absolutely new in content, but that it laid an entirely new emphasis on what had previously been expressed only sporadically. It was a new thing to have the diligent ministry of God to men put in the centre of the whole picture; and especially was it new to have God represented as loving and caring for even the sinner and as taking the trouble to pursue him as a shepherd might search for a lost sheep or a housewife for a lost shilling. This proclamation of a God who loves His enemies thus opens a new chapter in the history of the planet.

It would be tempting to linger on the manifold verification of this Gospel of God's love in the experience of men: but time forbids more than a passing allusion to it. It must suffice therefore to remind ourselves that the religious history of mankind is crammed with testimony to the mercy and tenderness of God. While this is not confined to Christians, or even to Christians and Jews, it is yet undeniable that the testimony given by those whose experience of the love of God has been derived from or mediated by Jesus, far surpasses that of others in volume, in sureness, and in purity.

We must pass on to observe—what the Gospels imply, rather than explicitly teach—that if God is loving and man responsible, God must be *limited*. The drawing of such an inference was inevitably delayed by the Jewish belief in God's supreme sovereignty and almightiness; and the Christian Church has long shrunk from the dangerous admission. Yet even to assert that God creates, and creates for a purpose, quite clearly means limitation—for a purpose is an end sought through a series of steps because it cannot be attained by other means. Still more clearly does human responsibility (everywhere taken for granted in the Gospels) imply at least a measure of moral freedom, which in its turn implies that God's will may be thwarted at least for a time by man's sin, *i.e.*, that God is limited. No doubt, the religious man must keep somehow his trust in God's supremacy and final triumph: but this can be safeguarded by thinking of God's limitations as self-imposed, and of His redemptive resources as infinite, and does not require that His limitations should be denied. God limits Himself to give men freedom, *i.e.*, to create personalities taking thereby the risk of much intermediate failure and disappointment, in order to achieve His "immemorial plan" of setting up a loving fellowship between Himself and the creatures of His love.

But God's love involves not only self-limitation, but suffering. He suffers, not only in all the suffering of men, but through all their sin. Whatever orthodoxy may say, the doctrine of the impassibility of God must be discarded, and the truth of Patripassianism maintained. The suffering of Jesus on the Cross was suffering inflicted on a human being by cruel and blind and sinful men: it was at the same time the sorrow of the God Who gave those men their freedom because He desired to befriend them. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself."

If from this vantage point we look back at what we said earlier about the severity of God, we see that that severity does not contradict the love of God, but helps to express it. Exposure to pain is necessitated by the

very possession of that freedom without which no true love between God and ourselves could exist : it is necessitated by the constancy of those laws of nature without which our universe would be unintelligible and unmanageable. It is designed by God to be the educative correction of ignorance and the redemptive chastisement for sin : but attempts to limit it exclusively to these ends are so contradicted by the facts of life that they not infrequently cause offence ; suffering is used not only for the correction of ignorance and the punishment of sin, but as the condition of engendering and perfecting that which is spiritually precious. What we call the severity of God is our share of " the travail that makes His Kingdom come " : we may find in it a new means of fellowship with Him. " He who is near Me is near the fire : but he who is far from Me is far from the Kingdom." However hard to bear, it is not to be regarded as cruelty ; for cruelty is the occasioning of pain by one who does not love and does not understand, but the severity of God is the occasioning of pain by One Who perfectly understands and never ceases to love—a fact, incidentally, which rules out absolutely any notion of everlasting punishment.

But a still harder question touching the significance of Jesus for our idea of God awaits us. It is the question prompted by the third and fourth items of what we called our data, and it concerns the relation of Jesus' own Person to the life of God. What is the significance of the fact that it is through Jesus supremely and uniquely that all this saving and energizing truth concerning God not only becomes credible to us, but dominates our whole inner life? It is clearly not sufficient to call Him a prophet, or even to call him Messiah. We have to go further and insist that in Him God has made a supreme and unique revelation of Himself ; that He can never make a higher bid for the heart of man than He made through Jesus ; that the making of such a bid must have been a unique event, not only in the history of the world, but in the life of God ; that God is morally like Jesus ; that He was personally and uniquely present in Jesus ; that in Jesus there inhered a Divine quality which did not indeed make Him indistinguishable from the Father, but brought Him so close to the Father that nothing less than Deity had to be predicated of Him.

With this point we reach the threshold of our fourth main topic, *the possibility of a doctrine of God* in which these last significant facts about Jesus shall be synthesized with the rest of our knowledge. This means, of course, some examination of the traditional credal formulæ. According to these formulæ, God is one and personal, but is not a single Person, or an undifferentiated unity. Had he been so, there must have been a time, prior to the Creation, when there existed no object of His love. He consists of three distinguishable but inseparable modes of being called " Persons—" the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Though all of these are co-eternal and equally divine, the Son and the Spirit derive their being from the Father as the fount of Deity—the Son by being " begotten," the Spirit by " proceeding." God the Father is, through the Son, Creator. God the Son became incarnate in the womb of Mary, the mother of Jesus. Personal and divine before birth, He became after birth human also : since the incarnation He is one person, with two natures and two wills, human and divine. The Holy Spirit is God considered as operating in the hearts of men—including the prophets of the Old Covenant and the members of the Christian Church.

It may rightly be claimed on behalf of this doctrine that it was arrived at as the result of a series of strenuous logical efforts, called forth by the necessity of ruling out inadequate theories in regard to the Saviour's

Person. Furthermore, it has the merit of safeguarding the uniqueness and absoluteness of the Divine element in that Person, as over against a purely humanitarian view of it such as would imply no more Divineness in Jesus than in any other, perhaps in some cases not as much. On these grounds, the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Trinity has come to be regarded by many as an indispensable ingredient of Christianity, and therefore as among the data to be discussed, rather than as a theory standing in need of proof. Indeed, question-begging language is often used, chiefly by Anglican writers, implying that any view of the universe that is not Trinitarian and incarnational is *ipso facto* not "Christian."

Now, though Catholics regard this traditional doctrine not as a philosophical theory, but a revealed truth, accepted and taught by the Church from the very first, Church-history clearly exhibits it to us as an intellectual synthesis gradually constructed by Christian thinkers. It is therefore as a philosophical theory, claiming to synthesize certain agreed data, that it has to be tested. So tested, it is seen to be beset with grave difficulties. It does not, for instance, fulfil the first requisite of a philosophical synthesis, of being simpler and more intelligible than the data it synthesizes. It is far harder to conceive of, and therefore to accept, than are the facts of history and experience out of which it arose. The orthodox often quote with pride Augustine's wise words, *Dictum est "Tres Personæ," non ut diceretur, sed ne taceretur.* But that is surely a very damaging confession for a constructive theologian to have to make. The triune nature of God is not an object of Christian experience: Dr. K. E. Kirk's recent attempt to relate communion with God to the Second Person of the Trinity, as we relate obedience and submission to the First,[1] is quite unconvincing.

Moreover, if the traditional doctrine is right and needful, why the repeated offer to have it "re-stated" and "re-interpreted" in the terms of modern philosophy? Seeing that it is itself a philosophy—and not a modern one—such a process would be simply equivalent to its abandonment.[2]

Coming now to particulars—how, we may ask, is the Father, Who (we are taught to believe) is "Spirit" (*John* 4^{24}) and is omnipresent, to be intelligibly distinguished from the Holy Spirit, which (though immanent in us) is yet not only immanent? The very subordinate place accorded to the Spirit in the theology of the early centuries is well-known; and the ultimate inclusion of it as a distinct element in the Godhead was probably due more to reverence for the letter of Scripture (*Mt.* 28^{19}, 2 *Cor.* 13^{14}) than to any philosophical necessity. And how is the process of "being begotten," which is the relation of the Son to the Father, to be distinguished intelligibly from "proceeding," which is the relation of the Spirit to the Father? Again, when we speak of the "Persons" of the Godhead, what do we mean? We can take our choice between two possible meanings, but we cannot logically take both at once. If we give to the word the meaning "mask," "aspect," "phase," "status," "existence" (as distinct from "a self-conscious, personal, individual being"), we are faced with the difficulty that both Jesus Christ and (according to Jesus' teaching) God the Father also are certainly "persons" in the other sense. If, on the other hand, we mean by "Person" not simply a phase or aspect, but a self-conscious personal being, we are landed at once in tritheism. As a matter of fact, the belief of perhaps a majority of so-called orthodox

[1] *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation,* 227f, 235.

[2] Cf. R. Hanson in *Hibbert Journal,* Jan., 1929, 379f.

trinitarians is virtual tritheism, and one eminent modern theologian has tentatively defended the doctrine[1]; but the Church-leaders deny and disown it as gross heresy. Whichever meaning, therefore, we give to " Person," the result is unacceptable.

Again, the fact cannot be ignored that the traditional doctrine was built up in absolute reliance on a historical basis which criticism has shown to be at least in part untenable. The creed-writers took it for granted that the Fourth Gospel was literally true throughout, that Jesus was not only pre-existent, but conscious of His pre-existence, that He was born of a virgin, that He wrought the nature-miracles, that He was absolutely omniscient, that He went about openly claiming to be God, that His material body not only emerged from the tomb but ascended off the earth into the sky. It is true that on one or other of these beliefs opinions amongst ourselves are still not unanimous. It is also true that all of them are still defended by Romanists, and many by Anglicans, though the arguments used in defence of some of them are wearing very thin. The climax of artificiality is perhaps reached by Father Ronald Knox, who regards the Gethsemane-scene as an exhibition of human weakness purposely paraded by Jesus before His disciples to warn them that, besides being God, He was also man.[2] And even granting that arguments less futile than this could be adduced for some of the beliefs just mentioned, it is certainly impossible at this time of day to build on them all—or indeed on any of them—confidently. That being so, the value of doctrines professedly erected on a basis that included them all, must necessarily be somewhat impaired.

The gravamen of modern discontent with the traditional doctrine is that—despite all orthodox professions to the contrary—it has turned out to be incompatible with a real acceptance of Jesus' humanity. One indication of this is the tenderness and tolerance always extended by the Church to unsophisticated tritheists and Apollinarians who really limit the human part of Jesus to His physical body, as contrasted with her censorious severity towards unitarians who insist on believing that Jesus was a real man. Another sign of the same thing is the way in which the doctrines of the creeds are in certain quarters continually appealed to in order to block the way for the plainest operations of historical criticism and even common sense. A still more cogent piece of evidence is the avowed belief that, while our Lord had a human nature, His humanity was impersonal: His person, *i.e.*, was the divine Logos, not a human person—in other words, He was indeed " man," but not " a man." It is claimed that this view is necessarily implied if the Definition of Chalcedon be accepted. And certainly, if Jesus pre-existed as a Divine " Person " before incarnation, it is hard to see how he could have been a human person after it, unless we declare with the heretics that there were two persons in Christ. However that may be, the doctrine is being insisted on by those who cling most tenaciously to Trinitarianism: and yet it patently and flatly contradicts one of the simplest and most unmistakable data from which we start.

While therefore the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, as traditionally held, safeguard a most important item of our belief, they do so at the cost of imperilling so much else that is true and precious that it is hardly surprising that modern Christians should be asking with disquietude whether some less difficult and dangerous way of protecting the citadel of our faith cannot be found. The answer probably is that no

1 F. R. Tennant in *Constructive Quarterly*, June, 1920, 278; Sept., 1920, 467, and in *Congregational Quarterly*, Jan., 1925, 8-16.

2 *Belief of Caths.*, 107.

alternative can be found so long as we act on the assumption that a *precise* doctrine in regard to the inner nature of God is within the reach of human intellects. But this assumption needs to be challenged. While on the one hand we are in duty bound to try to be intelligible in our creed, we shall on the other hand be wise if we acknowledge that, in such a theme as this, there are limits set to our clarity and precision beyond which we are simply unable to advance. The ineffable and impenetrable mystery of the Godhead was indeed acknowledged by certain of the creed-making Fathers; but they did not carry their acknowledgment to its logical conclusion by sparing their fellow-Christians the compulsory acceptance of most precise and detailed affirmations concerning this mystery.

If therefore any suggestions are now to be made of a constructive kind, they can be offered only on the understanding that they do not aspire to that degree of precision aimed at in the great credal formulations. If, however, we can agree to be content with something less sharply defined, a tenable working theory may not be beyond our reach.

To begin with what is relatively the simpler issue—I urge that the distinction between the Father and the Holy Spirit should be abandoned as unmeaning. To say that it marks the distinction between God as transcendent ruler and God as an immanent presence in the heart, is to deny its history; for the transcendent Father is not excluded from our hearts, and the indwelling presence is not exclusively immanent. To appeal to the authority of Scripture is natural, but indecisive; for the Scriptural doctrine of the Spirit arose from a desire to link the human world with an over-transcendentalized God. The doctrine of the immanence of the transcendent Father in His world dispenses with the need of an intermediate organ, the Spirit, between Himself and it. He is Himself the Holy Spirit.

This Holy Father-Spirit is not to be conceived of pantheistically, *i.e.*, simply identified with the Universe (least of all the material universe), for that would identify Him as closely with matter as with spirit, and with evil as with good. As creator and ruler He is transcendent. At the same time, the Christian doctrine of His omnipresence reminds us that He is inseparable from the world, pervading it, immanent in it, in a sense including it, embracing the finite lives within it "as the sea her waves," energizing, fostering, and sanctifying everything good and precious in our humanity.

> "Every virtue we possess,
> And every victory won,
> And every thought of holiness
> Are His alone."

Hence we are to call Him our Father and ourselves His sons. Hence we say that in Him we live and move and have our being. Hence we realize that He made us for Himself and that our hearts are unquiet unless we rest in Him. The very God Himself visits us and dwells within us, speaks His truth through human lips, and expresses His love through the kindly service of human hands. This indwelling and self-expression on God's part is sorely limited and impaired by our folly and sin; but even our sin does not entirely remove God from us.

In Jesus we see one the surrender of whose will to God was, unlike our imperfect surrender, whole-hearted and complete, so that the indwelling of God in Him was supreme and unique; the truth that God spoke through Him (though couched in the medium given by the historical conditions of His life) was unmistakable and overpowering; the love that God exercised

and exercises through Him was obscured and shackled by no human selfishness. " God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself." That Divine Sonship, that interfusing of the Divine and human which is so partially and poorly realized in ourselves, we see supremely and perfectly realized in Him. Jesus therefore stands, by virtue of His true and full humanity, in the human series. But no member of that series is wholly lacking in something that is truly Divine: every one has his measure of Divinity. Hence all arguments based on the phrase " mere man," or " man and nothing more " are quite futile: man, if man at all, is never " mere man and nothing more." But Jesus' Divinity is unique, and that not simply in the sense in which every human being is unique; but He is *unique in a special sense as standing at the head of the series.* That means that He stands in a relation to the Deity and to His fellowmen different from that of every other man. God finds in Him an absolutely unique and supreme ambassador and embodiment of Himself.

It is true that High Anglicans cry out against this theory as quite impossible and even unchristian. They declare that this immanental Christology gives really a different religion from that set forth in their own incarnational doctrine. Dr. Chas. Harris even goes so far as to assert that true incarnation is not only other than and superior to this immanental dwelling of God in Christ, but is positively inconsistent with it.[1] With all sympathy and respect for this concern on the part of Anglicans, one can only plead:

firstly, that the doctrine of an exclusive incarnation of God in Jesus, *in the form in which they insist upon it,* leads, as we have seen, to a virtual denial of the humanity portrayed in the Gospels;

secondly, our immanental Christology not only enables full justice to be done to the reality of the human conditions of our Lord's life, but allows ample room for all that is historically well-attested as to his claims to a uniquely close relationship to God and a uniquely authoritative relation to men. Whatever Dr. Harris may say about the incompatibility of immanence and incarnation, the fact remains that Jesus did move about among men as man and not as God, and as a man filled with the Spirit of God. If He called himself Son of God, He also described certain of His followers as at least potentially the same. If He called God His Father, He also called God their Father. The oft-adduced fact that He is never recorded to have said " Our Father " loses its supposed significance when we find Him on several occasions referring to His disciples as His brothers (*Mk.* 3^{35}; *Mt.* 25^{40}; *John* 20^{17}). Not only is our theory consistent with the Synoptics, but it is consistent with the Johannine Christ's explanation of His oneness with the Father, " him whom the Father consecrated, and sent into the world " (*John* $10^{30,36}$). Moreover, it is consistent, and it alone is consistent, with the great Pauline designation—" the firstborn among many brothers " (*Rom.* 8^{29}: *cf. Hebs.* $2^{11\text{-}18}$).

And thirdly, our doctrine fully conserves what we may call the religious value of the older formulæ, by implying that that of God which was in Jesus was not some secondary or semi-divine agency, but very God of very God, existing with and in the Father from all eternity. This satisfies Athanasius's demand that salvation must come from a source at least as divine as creation, and it gives a warrant for the Athanasian faith that the purpose of the Logos becoming human was that we might be made divine— ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν (*Incarn.* 54^{3}). If the formula " Jesus is God " be insisted upon as essential, no exception need be taken to it, so

1 *Creeds or No Creeds?* 145, 149.

long as it is permissible to regard the word " God " in it as an adjective. If stress be laid on the term " incarnation," its propriety can be gladly recognized, and the uniqueness of the sense in which it is applied to Jesus can be safeguarded, so long as it is acknowledged that God is in a true sense, though to a lesser measure, incarnate in all good life. If it be urged that Jesus as God is for Christians an object of worship,[1] we observe in reply that here too there need be no disagreement in principle, provided we analyse aright the meaning of worship, bear in mind the omnipresent immanence of the true God in *all* humanity, and allow for the fact that Jesus never demanded of His followers the same worship as they paid to the Father, and the further important fact that for the first three and a half centuries the Church never addressed her public prayers to Christ, but always to God through—or in the name of—Christ.[2]

The criticism will probably be made that the view here advanced is Unitarian. It is important to touch on this charge, on account of the unpropitious associations of the word. Many good Christians mutter the fell term in panic, when the least emphasis is placed on our Lord's real humanity. Others regard it as a sufficient proof of the falsity of any Christological position to be able to say of it that a Unitarian could accept it. It has, however, to be borne in mind that Unitarianism does not mean simply what its derivation suggests, *viz.*, non-trinitarian monotheism. It stands for the position of a well-known religious body, and ought not to be used (without explanation) in another sense. So defined, its meaning is yet fatally ambiguous, for while some, perhaps most, Unitarians hold a view of the supremacy and uniqueness of God's revelation in Jesus Christ very similar to what has been argued for here, the body as a whole is quite uncommitted on the matter, and individual Unitarians are quite free to deny any special uniqueness or even goodness in Jesus. While this indefiniteness necessarily hinders full fellowship between avowed Unitarians and other Protestant Christians, there is among orthodox Protestants a growing readiness to acknowledge that Unitarians who accept Jesus as the really supreme manifestation of the Spirit of God, as defining for them the ideal of life, and as imparting power for the fulfilment of it, have the root of the matter in them, despite their unpropitious label.

But all argument concerning our idea of God would be a waste of time if it did not reawaken within us the impulse to marvel, to adore, and to love. Christian thinkers may try

> " through wordy snares to track
> Suggestion to her inmost cell."

But they never arrive at the end of their quest for the full Divine truth. They

> " Desire in vain its depths to see,
> They cannot reach the mystery,
> The length and breadth and height."

We reach rather a viewpoint whence we look out on a sweep of reality so vast that, wearied with our efforts to encompass everything in our survey, we relapse with hushed and chastened hearts into a larger charity for one another and into a deeper reverence for Him Whom through Jesus Christ we know to be the Sovereign and Friend of us all.

[1] Dr. Chas. Harris insists repeatedly on this (*Creeds or No Creeds?* 38, 128, 149, 267).

[2] See Koch's review of the Jesuit J. A. Jungmann's *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet in Theolog. Litzg.*, 1926, 23, 564.

Thou, so far, we grope to grasp Thee—
Thou, so near, we cannot clasp Thee— . . .
In each human soul Thou shinest,
Human-best is Thy divinest.
In each deed of love Thou warmest;
Evil into good transformest.
Soul of all, and moving centre
Of each moment's life we enter. . . .
All-preserving ether flowing
Through the worlds, yet past our knowing;
Never past our trust and loving,
Nor from thine our life removing.
Still creating, still inspiring,
Never of thy creatures tiring;
Artist of the solar spaces,
And thy humble human faces;
Mighty glooms and splendours voicing;
In Thy plastic work rejoicing;
Through benignant law connecting
Best with best—and all perfecting:
Though all human races claim Thee,
Thought and language fail to name Thee;
Mortal lips be dumb before Thee,
Silence only may adore Thee!

THE FULLNESS OF GOD, FATHER, SON, AND HOLY SPIRIT.

By Dr. R. S. Franks.

It is the general basis of our whole Conference that we start from the peculiar valuation of Jesus Christ proper to His Church. Undoubtedly that is what most of all separates the Christian from other religions. The place of Christ in Christianity is its glory and its great advantage in propaganda, but it also furnishes its supreme and special problems. That the man Jesus should be presented as Divine and should for Christian faith and devotion have the value of God, is what gives Christianity its special gospel; but it also introduces for the Christian a new factor of extreme intellectual difficulty into the conception of God.

Let us look for a moment at the conception of God, as it might be, if we knew nothing of Christ. Let us suppose that, while we were conversant with philosophy and science and other religions, we had never heard of Christ. What kind of conception of God should we then be in a position to form?

Prof. Heiler in his important book, *Das Gebet,* says that religion in its highest development takes two complementary forms: these are the prophetical and the mystical types of religion.

For the prophetical religion God is essentially Another, with Whom there is a communion, as Heiler expresses it, of "Du und Du." The prophet converses with God as with a friend, however much more exalted and glorious He may be than himself. Using the term to signify, not what is beyond all being, but what is external to our own being, we may say that the conception of God here implied is *transcendent.*

Mystical religion presents us with something most markedly different. Here the climax of religious experience is not one in which God and the soul remain distinct, however closely bound they may be in the ties of friendship: it is one in which the two become one, as the ocean may absorb a drop of water. It is an experience, not of communion, but of union; and the conception of God, which is implied by it, is *immanent.*

Most of us would agree that both these aspects of God correspond to our experience. We continually pray to God as Another than ourselves, and we also experience at times the movement of the Divine power within us, so that we seem to be borne on a tide that is greater than our narrow selves. Some have more of the one form of experience, some of the other.

This double experience of God belongs to religion even apart from Christianity. Consider now the way in which it has been affected by the advent of Jesus Christ into the world. The result has been that peculiar modification of religious experience which we know as Christian, with its strange paradox that the personality of Jesus has become absolutely interfused with the experience of God. We may have different ways of explaining this unique phenomenon. But I trust that I may command general assent to the way in which I have stated the experimental fact itself. The peculiarity of the Christian religion is that the personality of Jesus has been completely and absolutely interfused with the experience of God.

The way in which this interfusion has worked out is in the Christian experience of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The prophetical type of religion has been retained in Christianity as an experience of God as Father, a Father Whose character completely corresponds to the human character of Jesus. The mystical type of religion has been appropriated as an experience of an immanent God, yet in such a way as to be deflected from pure mysticism and to be described not only as the indwelling of the Spirit of God, but also alternatively as that of the Spirit of Christ or even the Spirit of Jesus. Finally, the most characteristic of all for the difference of Christianity from other religions, the human Jesus has not only been valued as Divine, but His spiritual being has been felt to transcend time and space and so to be one with God, that Christians have spoken of the presence of Christ in the midst of the Church and in individual human hearts.

Such an experience is highly complex to describe, yet it is simple and intelligible enough to the believing Christian. We are now called upon to form the conception of God which corresponds to it, filling out the picture of the Divine Being by the help of the experimental data.

Here, though we go to work on the basis of Christian experience, we cannot, of course, ignore the formulations of doctrine which we have inherited from the past. We are not the first Christians, and cannot act as if we were. We are compelled to come to terms with the statements alike of the New Testament and of the ecclesiastical dogma. Both are attempts to formulate the implications of Christian experience, but at very different stages of reflexion and systematization.

The doctrinal statements of the New Testament are much closer to experience than those of the later dogma, and they are largely unsystematic. Nevertheless they undoubtedly contain certain germs of the complete dogma. The principal difficulty that the New Testament statements present to us to-day, beyond their unsystematic character, is that they are inevitably couched in the theological and philosophical terminology of their age, which is not that of ours. In particular, ancient thought failed to

express what we should call principles or powers in personal forms, without feeling the distinction between persons and principles as acutely as we do. This fact must never be forgotten in dealing with the New Testament, nor is it without application to the dogma itself. What is to be said of the latter? The Trinitarianism of the early Church remains the classical attempt to complete the Christian picture of God left unfinished in the New Testament. It is further removed from experience than the statement of the New Testament, and it introduced fresh philosophical conceptions. What is to be our attitude to it? It seems to me that the best way for the modern theologian is not as Schleiermacher recommended, to go back to the beginning. This, I think, is a sheer impossibility. But we can attempt to interpret, and if necessary reconstitute, the dogma by a closer and more continual reference to Christian experience. Our problem is: Can we so state or re-state the dogma of the Trinity as to gain a conception of God adequate to Christian faith and devotion?

I shall discuss, with this purpose in view, four different attitudes towards the dogma.

(1) The *first* is to treat it as a pure mystery, a set of logical propositions entirely inconsistent with one another in the judgment of human reason. The dogma is stated as such a mystery in a set of nine propositions by Newman in his famous *Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent*.[1] The nine propositions are as follows:—

1. There are three, who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word or Son, and the Holy Spirit.
2. From the Father is, and has ever been, the Son.
3. From the Father and Son is, and has ever been, the Spirit.
4. The Father is the One Eternal Personal God.
5. The Son is the One Eternal Personal God.
6. The Spirit is the One Eternal Personal God.
7. The Father is not the Son.
8. The Son is not the Holy Ghost.
9. The Holy Ghost is not the Father.

Now, according to Newman, while we are able to give a *real* assent to these nine propositions individually, we are only able to give a *rational* assent to the whole complex taken together. In other words, Newman holds it possible to have an experimental apprehension of the individual elements which compose the Trinitarian dogma, while the dogma itself is simply a logical nexus of those elements, of which as a whole no experimental synthesis is possible.

Newman says:[2] "Break a ray of light into its component colours, each is beautiful, each may be enjoyed; attempt to unite them and perhaps you produce only a dirty white. The pure and indivisible Light is seen only by the blessed inhabitants of Heaven; here we have but such faint reflections of it as its diffraction supplies; but they are sufficient for faith and devotion. Attempt to combine them in one, and you gain nothing but a mystery, which you can describe as a notion, but cannot depict in an imagination."

The history of this view goes back to the Middle Ages. It takes its origin from the Aristotelian Schoolmen, who regarded sensation as the necessary starting point of human knowledge. As long as Platonism was the ruling Christian philosophy, the dogma was not regarded as a pure mystery: efforts were perpetually made to comprehend it rationally. But

1 p. 135.

2 *Ibid.*, 132.

the Schoolmen, who worked with Aristotle, viewed the doctrine of the Trinity as an entirely supernatural communication from God Himself. The Christian in the present life, they held, could not have an intuitive knowledge of God : that belonged only to God Himself and the Saints in Heaven. Hence Thomas Aquinas speaks of supernatural doctrines like the doctrine of the Trinity as propositions simply borrowed on trust from the knowledge of the blessed Saints, just as propositions may be borrowed by the science of music from that of arithmetic without the necessary proof. Duns Scotus says that in the sphere of theology impressions supernaturally made by God on the human mind take the place of the natural sense-impressions, which in the common course are made by material objects. The gist of the whole Scholastic teaching is that those who enjoy the Divine Vision can see the doctrine of the Trinity to be true, while we have simply to accept the mystery. The notion of the Schoolmen was that such acceptance was itself made possible by the supernatural grace communicated in baptism.

With such a view it is impossible for modern Christians to be satisfied. It disconnects the doctrine of the Trinity totally from experience : it gives it no real contact with our minds at all.

(2) The above logical view of the dogma corresponds, however, only to one half of Newman's presentation of it in the *Grammar of Assent*. While he holds that only a rational assent can be given to the dogma as a whole, he maintains that a real or experimental assent can be given to each of its constituent parts. He endeavours in this way to commend even that bone of contention, the Athanasian Creed.

" It must be recollected," he says,[1] " that the Athanasian Creed has sometimes been called the *Psalmus Quicunque*. It is not a mere collection of notions, however momentous. It is a psalm or hymn of praise, of confession, and of profound, self-penetrating homage, parallel to the canticles of the elect in the Apocalypse. It appeals to the imagination quite as much as to the intellect. It is the war-song of faith, with which we warn first ourselves, then each other, and then all those who are within its hearing, and the hearing of the Truth, who our God is, and how we must worship Him, and how vast our responsibility will be, if we know what to believe and yet believe not. . . . For myself I have ever felt it as the most simple and sublime, the most devotional formulary to which Christianity has given birth, more so even than the *Veni Creator* and the *Te Deum*."

This is splendidly written, and might almost persuade us of the entire satisfactoriness of the dogma, as it stands, for all purposes, both theological and devotional. But when we come to the further development, in which Newman tries to show how the Athanasian Creed has this power over the feelings, all he can do is to point us to the Scriptural images referring, not to the Trinity as a whole, but to the three Persons individually, and assume all the while that these Scriptural references are to be interpreted by the precise dogma itself, an assumption which ignores altogether the fluidity of the Scriptural imagery, and above all the want of distinction, previously mentioned, existing in ancient thought between principles and persons. No one disputes the appealing quality of Scriptural passages, such as *Rom.* 8 or *John* 1, 14, 15, and 16 ; but the exact equivalent of the statement they contain with the nine propositions of the dogma, as stated by Newman, is just the point at issue.

(3) We pass on, therefore, to modern attempts to produce a more con-

[1] *Ibid.*, 133.

crete conception of the Trinity in God, and consider next the notion of a sociality in the Godhead. Probably the most acceptable form in which this type of doctrine has been presented recently is that offered by Prof. C. C. J. Webb in his two valuable books, *God and Personality* and *Divine Personality and Human Life*. The line taken by Prof. Webb is to substitute for the common notion of the Personality of God the markedly different idea of Personality in God. He claims, indeed, here to be following the true sense of the dogma, which speaks of One Essence in three hypostases or persons. He says that it was apparently first in the eighteenth century that the theologians of the Illumination, with a Unitarian tendency, began to think of God Himself as Personal, the first clear references to the Personality of God being in Schleiermacher's *Speeches on Religion,* and then in this country in Paley's *Natural Theology*. The proper line of interpretation steadily pursued by the medieval Schoolmen was that of Personality in God: three Persons within a Divine Essence, not itself personally conceived. A similar Trinitarianism is propounded by Dr. F. R. Tennant,[1] who recommends a conception of the Godhead in terms of plurality, not of solity, and as comparable to a society rather than to an individual subject; and who declares that such a view is the only alternative to a humanitarian Christology, which I suppose means that it is the only way to conceive the personality of Jesus Christ as essentially Divine rather than as human. This last argument, however, seems to me to rebound in the opposite direction to that of its aim. However necessary it may be to conceive Jesus Christ as Divine (and it is a fundamental article of the Christian Faith), the starting-point of any satisfactory Christology must be the recognition of a real human personality in Him.

Moreover, the notion of a sociality in the Godhead, if represented in an image, must inevitably lead to tritheism. I need hardly mention Matthew Arnold's cruel gibe about the "three Lord Shaftesburys." But there is no doubt that a great deal of popular Christianity is tritheistic, and the accusation of tritheism is probably the most serious charge brought against the Christian religion by the exponents of Judaism and Islam. Come what may, we must maintain the monotheistic character of the Christian religion, just as we must maintain the human personality of Jesus Christ; and we must seek the solution of the Trinitarian problem without violence to these fundamental necessities.

(4) There remains, then, only the way of emphasizing the unity of God by treating all distinctions in His Being as subordinate to that unity. We must affirm (as Newman does) that there is One Personal God, and we must fall back upon the modern philosophy of Spirit to provide for us an image of the multiplicity of this personal life. That philosophy is best known to us in the form in which it has been presented by Hegel and his great English exponents, T. H. Green, the Cairds, and others still more recent. But there are other forms of it: in particular the form in which it was presented by Hegel's pupil, Weisse, seems to me to have peculiar advantages. In any case what we want from it is not the precise system of this or that great master, but the general notion of Spirit as a Living principle, which moves through differences in order to reconcile them in itself. This principle need not be impersonally conceived: Lotze and others have shown how acceptance of it is entirely consistent with a belief in the Personality of God. In fact, so far as I can see, human personality is the one and only concrete analogy by which we can visualise the Divine life. If we let go that clue, we wander altogether in a maze.

1 *Congregational Quarterly*, January, 1925, 8—16.

But the modern philosophy of Spirit can help us to visualise the Divine life as concretely real, as rich in inner movement. Think of the great image which Hegel has adopted from Schiller to form the conclusion of his *Phenomenology of Spirit.* The one Spirit, Hegel declares, gathers up into itself all the manifold spiritual movement that constitutes its life.

> " Out of the cup of this realm of spirits
> Foams for him his own Infinity."

That is a magnificent image, but I am not suggesting that either it or the philosophy it illustrates will of themselves yield us the doctrine of the Trinity. To obtain such a doctrine we have to apply this view of Spirit to synthesize the specific Christian values yielded by our religious experience. I am trying to suggest how by such a general conception of Spirit we may represent to ourselves the Fullness of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. What we have to do is to visualize if possible how the One God is known to us in experience in so many different ways, yet without ceasing to be One and the Same.

Let me help myself out by a reference to that great theologian Origen. There is a remarkable passage in his *First Principles,*[1] in which he leads up to the text: " There are diversities of operations, but One God that worketh all in all." " God the Father," says Origen, " bestows upon all existence; and participation in Christ, in respect of this being the Word or Reason, renders them rational beings. From which it follows that they are capable of praise or blame; because capable of virtue and vice. On this account therefore is the grace of the Holy Spirit Himself present, that these beings which are not holy in their essence may be rendered holy by participating in it."

It only needs a little modernization to bring these valuable ideas into correspondence with that fundamental Christian experience which we are making the starting-point of our theology. Let us say that we depend upon God the Father Himself for our very being and all that may sustain and develop it. We depend upon God revealed in Jesus Christ for our ideal of personal character, and we depend upon God the Holy Spirit for the power to realize that ideal. It is one and the same God upon Whom we depend throughout, but we depend upon Him in different ways according to the different ways of His working. But we are not to think of these ways of the Divine working merely as successive phases through which God passes, or as if they were characters merely assumed by the One God in the drama of human salvation. That would be mere modalism, a view according to which the ways of God's working tell us nothing of His inner concrete nature. On the contrary, following the guidance of the modern philosophy of Spirit, we shall say that a simultaneous distinction of the Divine operation corresponds to an eternal distinction in the Divine Being, according to which God is no abstract motionless unity, but is rather a concrete Life, that ever moves and ever returns into Itself. We shall say that God is eternally the Root of His own Being, that He is eternally His own Ideal, and that He is eternally the actualization of that Ideal in His own nature.

We are not very far here from Augustine's description of God according to the trinity of the human faculties: memory, the store-house of life's possibilities; intelligence, the director of life; and will, its realization. Nor are we very far again from Abelard's connexion of the three Persons of the Trinity with the fundamental attributes of Power, Wisdom, and Love.

[1] I. 8.

But the modern philosophy of Spirit takes us beyond these Patristic and Scholastic analogies by providing us with the notion of the inner movement, by which the different elements into which we analyze the Divine life are reunited and synthesized. Ancient philosophy was a philosophy of substance and attribute, in which the inner connexion of the substance with the attributes, and of the attributes one with another, did not appear. Ancient philosophy could not, therefore, be as adequate to the description of the Divine Being as is the modern philosophy of Spirit, which derives its inspiration always in the end from the conscious subject, with its wealth of inner life. Substance and attributes were conceived after the manner of things, and things can only be united externally. But the motions of Spirit are themselves spirits. The one contains the many, not by mere summation of parts, but through the motion of its own immanent life.

Applied to the conception of the Divine Being, the modern philosophy of Spirit gives us an enormous advantage over antiquity. It helps us to conceive and imagine the Fullness of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as the fullness of One eternally self-unfolding Life. Moreover, it helps us to understand how, in spite of the distinction of the Persons, each is the whole God. God is the Ground of His own existence, and implicity contains His own Ideal. The Divine Ideal again, because it is Divine, is self-existent and self-realizing. Finally, the self-realization of God or the Spirit is God. The Persons are, as the dogma says, co-equal and co-eternal, but the modern philosophy of Spirit can transform the stark logic of the dogma into a vision of the Eternal Divine Life.

On the doctrine that has just been drawn out I wish to make three remarks in conclusion. The first is that it is not unorthodox. Everyone knows that *hypostasis* in Greek and *persona* in Latin do not signify the individuality, which in common speech we nowadays associate with the word *person*. As to the history of Christian thought, let me refer to Dr. Tennant himself. He says that popular Christianity and practical usage have tended to tritheism. But he says equally that the Trinitarian dogma of the Church, wherever it has been formulated by representative doctors in precise and scientific language, with a view simply to making its own meaning explicit, has always been rigidly monotheistic.[1]

The second remark is on the Christological value of the doctrine of this paper. The orthodoxy, or otherwise, of a monotheistic Trinitarianism is not the most important question. The real issue is whether it provides a satisfactory basis for the specific valuation of Jesus, from which we started. What, on the basis of the theory that has just been propounded, can we say of the Person of Christ? We can maintain that in the human Jesus, by a complete dependence on His part upon the Father, and a consequent receptivity for His Spirit, there was incarnated the Eternal Divine Ideal which is God's own character, so that there is manifest in Him, as *Heb.* 1^3 has it, the effulgence of the Divine glory and the express image of the Divine substance. This is surely enough to establish the uniqueness of Jesus Christ on which the Christian religion is founded. We need not fear that a monotheistic Trinitarianism must have as its consequence a merely humanitarian view of Jesus.

My third and final remark is that it is possible to confirm the doctrine, which I have been maintaining, from the Church's literature of devotion. While the imagery of some of our Trinitarian hymns is undoubtedly tritheistic, this is not the case with all of them. In particular, the most moving hymn on the Trinity that we possess in English is strictly mono-

[1] *op. cit.*, 8.

theistic. I refer, of course, to Bishop Heber's " Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty." There is certainly in this magnificent hymn a mention of the Three Persons, and the suggestion of a Triple life in God. But there is no addressing of one Person after another, as though each were a separate God. On the contrary, praise is addressed entirely in the singular to the One God, with peculiar emphasis on his solity :—

> Holy, holy, holy, though the darkness hide Thee,
> Though the eye of sinful man Thy glory may not see,
> Only Thou art Holy—there is none beside Thee,
> Perfect in power, in love and purity.

To sum up, a monotheistic trinitarianism is not unorthodox, it is not inadequate for the purpose of Christology, and it is capable of directing our devotional approach to God. Since it satisfies these tests, its sufficiency for all purposes is assured.

THE DEVOTIONAL APPROACH TO GOD.

By the Rev. R. W. Thompson, M.A., B.D.

I. The root of prayer lies in the reaction of human beings, as human, to the universe and its originator both as Fact and Power.

In this reaction not only is thought awakened, but also the first stirring of the innate sense of something " sacred " or " holy." So, from the beginning, men have pondered over the power or powers beyond themselves and tried to come into relation with them. Crude beginnings in prayer do not discredit its present value any more than the first ideas of nature discredit to-day's science. At first men were impelled to pray largely by physical need or fear, so that their approach to God was either *petition* or *propitiation*. We can truly say that we are still urged to pray by our sense of need. Yet we find in time that our deepest need is not for " things " but for God. We are indeed dependent upon " things "—food, shelter, health, human love. But we can suffer the loss of many things if we can quench our thirst for God Himself.

II. The search for the Divine (however imperfectly apprehended) has gradually brought clearer ideas of the Deity, *e.g.*, as One : and Holy : and Father. In this quest the supreme Guide—though of course not the only one—is Jesus Himself, Who not only used prayer continuously but taught us how to pray to God—a Spirit, in fatherly relation to every human life. Through Jesus we look with confidence for life, truth, love in the Father God—and it was Jesus Who taught us when we pray to say *" Our."*

Prayer is mercifully independent of precise definitions of the Deity or of Jesus and His exact relation to God. As in science, so in religion, knowledge is always comparative and open to fresh discovery. We cannot fully know the " surpassing life that hath the name of God." We see the baffling reflexions in a mirror. Along one side at least of the base of every altar runs the writing, " To the unknown God." Yet along another side we are able to write, " We know bit by bit."

III. Prayer uses the *whole* of personality. It is true that in every act of consciousness, thought, feeling, willing, are all present in varying degrees, but in a mathematical calculation, *e.g.*, the element of *feeling* is relatively small. In philosophic search for God reasoning is active and feeling passive, while in prayer feeling and desire are heightened. So far from suppressing thought, the activity elicited from other elements in per-

sonality make the mind's quest for God keener. " It is not true that we observe best when we are devoid of emotion."[1] We think most powerfully when the other elements are active. Prayer is the highest exercise of the whole of our personality unified, sensitized, and turned toward God. Prayer is what we feel, say, hear, do, receive when we are aware of the Eternal Spirit beating in upon our own.

IV. The devotional approach to God is a way of experience for which no amount of theorizing is any substitute. The clearer our ideas the better, but only in praying do we make the most vital discoveries; so that nothing makes up to a human life for prayerlessness. " By praying we come upon God as interior Power as well as exterior Fact."[2]

V. Prayer includes petition, yet is thus much more than *petition*—especially petition for material needs—which is the popular idea of prayer and the main test of its value for many. Petition for material needs (" Give us our daily *bread* "—*bread* not cake; at least bread for all before cake for some !) is put in right proportion to other elements : (1) Adoration; (2) Thanksgiving; (3) Confession and prayer for forgiveness; (4) Intercession. These are sometimes gathered under the term " worship " rather than " prayer " so as to keep the word " prayer " for petition. But we can best regard them as parts of prayer, and anyway they are included in our phrase, " The Devotional Approach to God."

By adoration I mean, very simply, turning one's thoughts toward God, *e.g.*, meditation—letting God come into mind. This involves taking time, and re-collecting thought. Hurry is the death of prayer. For meditation an amount of discipline is useful, enough at least to lift us above dependence upon moods. It is quite foolish only to pray when we " feel like it " —and no hypocrisy to begin to pray despite a contrary mood. The initial mood can be wonderfully changed by praying.

The most direct way of bringing God before the mind is to think on some word or act of Jesus. While " the starry heavens without " and " the moral imperative within " speak of God, in practice the most readily available help is through Jesus Himself. " The saintly M. Olier says that prayer consists in its completeness in three things :—' There is first the humble, admiring adoration of the transcendent Object; next the loving, personal communion with that Object found here and now in the soul's secret life; last, co-operation, *i.e.*, active self-giving to the purposes of the Object.' "

VI. Such praying brings knowledge of God, Who is always seeking to commune with us on our own ground. Miss Underhill writes :—" The first possibility in adoring prayer—that simple, quiet, yet ardent looking at and waiting upon God for His own sake—is therefore a certain real if limited knowledge of Him and of Eternal Life. This sort of prayer, persevered in, does bring a progressive discovery of the concrete reality and richness of those supernatural facts, which the doctrines and practices of formal religion are designed to express."

There is a revolt from unreality in prayer as used in some of our public worship. Not enough effort or time is given to bringing God before the mind; more opportunity could well be afforded for silent prayer—and help offered so that the silence can be used fruitfully. A few moments of perfect quiet at the end of worship are very helpful. Many extempore prayers use undue repetition, are too long, attempt to cover too much ground at a time, and do not blend the elements of adoration, thanksgiving, and intercession with petition. Familiar collects or benedictions carelessly mutilated or

1 Whitehead. 2 B. C. Plowright.

quoted inaccurately jar painfully upon many worshippers. For the public worship of God preparation for prayer should be as definite and painstaking as for preaching—especially the preparation of one's self. We shall not be able to lift others in prayer above the level of our own private devotion.

VII. But may not what we get through prayer be, after all, no more than the reflex of our own activity—a form of auto-suggestion—helpful in its own way, of course, but not revealing? Does prayer give us objective reality? In any case we can only become aware of a fact when it passes into our consciousness. The moment it is inside we can say of it that it is "subjective," but its objective reality is not thereby proved an illusion. If God does commune He can only do so that way. All prayer is "subjective" in this sense.

Have we any marks by which to distinguish objective fact from subjective illusion? In regard to ordinary sensations we learn to know those that are objectively originated (as, for instance, the sight of an external object from a subjective image) by several marks: (*a*) There is a peculiar vividness, richness, and steady constancy in the sensation objectively given; (*b*) Our experience is corroborated and corrected by that of others. A man may say, "I hear a bell." If eleven others who are with him each say, "Yes, so do I," he can safely reckon that he experienced more than an illusion of sound.

In prayer our testimony is first that there is a sense of vivid, rich, steady reality in what we perceive of God and receive from Him that makes it difficult to believe it is simply self-originated. We can by experience allow for the reflex action of prayer, which of itself is of much value—*e.g.*, it tends to kill fear and rekindle courage—but, beyond this, through prayer we do receive power not our own. Especially we feel increasing confidence that we are in communion with One beyond ourselves, because such communion is so closely associated with the sense of the reality and immediate nearness of Jesus. Jesus as Man of Nazareth is external Fact. This same Jesus approaches us, confronts us, reasons with us, and makes us feel what He stands for. We cannot believe that we have conjured Him up.

Our experience, too, is corroborated by that of others. Praying souls either together—two or three—or separated by centuries of time and continents of space, report the same awareness of One beyond themselves—"the Beyond that is within"—strengthening and guiding them.

The Secretary of the Student Christian Movement, reviewing its twenty years' experience, says that he can clearly distinguish certain outstanding crises in the Movement's history when the leaders were baffled as to a right decision. In each case they found that after setting apart a period for quiet retirement and corporate praying, their difficulties were dispersed and a course of action suggested whose essential rightness—not fully seen at the time—experience proved. The Free Church Fellowship, as some here can testify, on one notable occasion at least came upon precisely the same unforgettable fact.

I stood recently in a room with a mother and her daughter, the latter lying quite helpless and emaciated. Until this illness she had enjoyed splendid health and lived a most unselfish life of service to others. Now she could not move without help, and, moving or still, was in pain. She had got used to the fact that she could not live and was rather troubled by the fact that she seemed unable to die. After much cheerful conversation the mother turned the talk toward religion and quite spontaneously began to quote:

Jesus, the very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills my breast.

The daughter broke in eagerly and finished the stanza—

But sweeter far Thy Face to see
And in Thy Presence rest.

The mother began the next verse, and so, each repeating two lines, they went through the hymn. When they came to the verse

But what to those who find? Ah this,
Nor tongue nor pen can show—
The love of Jesus, what it is
None but His loved ones know,

something went on in my mind like this: "His loved ones—these two—and 'where two or three are gathered in My Name, there am I,'" and I can report that I felt the Presence and cannot resolve it into anything else.

VIII. The *end* of praying is that our wills may be conformed to the Divine will. Christianity is most of all a life to be lived. Here is the broad distinction between Christian and non-Christian prayer. "Non-Christian prayer," as one says, "is the attempt to induce the gods to do our will. Christian prayer is communion with the 'infinite all pervading Spirit, of Whom Christ is the Portrait,' through which we become able to do God's will." Jesus in Gethsemane cried out twice in prayer—the first time, "My Father, if it be possible let this pass," the second time, "Father, since it is not possible for this cup to pass—Thy will be done."

The end of our praying is that we may be able to do and to bear God's will. The best answer to our prayers is the release of power for service. "I would fain be to the Eternal what his own right hand is to a man." Many to-day feel the impulse to serve without being aware of its root in God. We can help them to express their desire in definite ways of service to men. Yet not without urging them to pray. Intake must precede outflow. We cannot afford to live upon our spiritual capital. Only by linking the impulse to serve with God's will shall we be able to survive the slowness of progress, the difficulties and disappointments of the task, as well as inner weariness and moral failure.

As torrents in summer
Half dried in their channels
Suddenly rise, though the sky is still cloudless
For rain has been falling
Far off at their fountains.
So hearts that are fainting
Grow full to o'erflowing—
And they that behold it
Marvel and know not
That God at their fountains
Far off has been raining.

IX. The unanswered petition for "things" is a real stumbling-block but need not destroy faith. We now turn again to Christ's experience. When thinking of Jesus we do not forget His integrity. His most desperately urged petition was denied. He was perfectly sincere all through, and would assuredly have acknowledged His faith to be wrongly based if that had been the fact. Yet in the end His word is "Father, into Thy hands I commend my Spirit." Prayer as a whole enables us to enter

into such relation with the Father as refusal of our petition cannot break. We come at length to understand that in every event God is at work on our behalf. We make the strange discovery that we are often most blessed in regard to those things which we have been most strangely denied.

X. I have been forced to a conviction which constantly grows that Jesus Christ is Real and a Revealer of God because of His work upon me in the realm of conscience. How is it that in doing wrong I am not left alone? Not only is there the ever-recurring thought of the moral standard to which Jesus points, a thought which inevitably re-emerges no matter how my wrongdoing overwhelms it, but there is this repeated experience of Jesus pursuing me, confronting me, allowing me no rest. The conviction grows that I remain alive because He will not allow me to rest. It is life to feel Him near. I am never abandoned. I cannot, on analysis, find that this is no more than my better self confronting the worse, or anything like that. I do not get the experience without it being associated with the Saviour as One Real, but not myself, Who confronts me with a moral recall. So Real is He that I could reckon all else unreal rather than Himself.

When His presence induces frank confession to God and penitence there is an indescribable feeling of re-adjustment and the re-uniting of a divided self. Life falls again into shape. Would that this meant no further falling! But unfortunately this sinful man does fall again and again. Yet in time life follows the direction of conscience, and conscience feels that its strength is not from within but from without and felt within. Its strength is always associated with Jesus, and I cannot help asserting that here is a communion of the Spirit of God with the human spirit.

When the prayer " God be merciful to me a sinner " is answered, I set that fact over against all unanswered prayer for material good, and can go on.